

THE IMPORTANCE OF NEIGHBORHOODS FOR CUBAN
AMERICANS IN GREATER MIAMI

By

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This research presents a geographic perspective on the adjustment of Cuban immigrants to new homes in greater Miami. The relationship between assimilation of immigrants and form and function of neighborhoods is investigated. Conceptually, greater assimilation means less need for ethnic neighborhoods. Geography provides two models for different neighborhoods: one, part of the contiguous expansion of the ethnic core functions to reinforce ethnicity; another, discontinuous from the core, functions to diminish ethnicity. The general hypothesis states that Cuban Americans in the discontinuous assimilation neighborhood are distinguished from Cuban Americans in the contiguous expansion neighborhood by their residential histories, spatial patterns of their behaviors, and by their attitudes relating to ethnicity.

Households, in two random samples from each neighborhood, were interviewed. Fifty-nine variables were developed and evaluated through crosstabulation analysis to test fourteen secondary hypotheses concerning residential histories, spatial patterns, and attitudes related

to ethnicity. Significant differences between neighborhoods were found. Seven secondary hypotheses were sustained. Discriminant analysis was employed to form a function capable of differentiating the neighborhoods. This differentiation sustains the general hypothesis.

Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood are more likely to have resided outside of Dade County. Strong demands for ethnically linked goods and services among assimilation neighborhood residents lead them to expend considerable effort to overcome distance to patronize such outlets. These same residents prefer speaking Spanish in public and favor bilingualism although their neighborhood dictates that they use English frequently. The residents of both neighborhoods have similar attitudes about their ethnicity. Assimilation neighborhood residents have unexpectedly strong attitudes supporting their ethnicity while expansion neighborhood residents have attitudes more open to inter-ethnic interaction than anticipated. Residents of the assimilation neighborhood are sensitive to the ways in which ethnic neighborhoods serve them.

The residential histories of the two study groups support the stepwise development of both models as expressed in the geographic literature. The findings reinforce concepts concerning ethnic neighborhood functions. Not only has the research hypothesis been accepted, but the research framework has also been found valid and useful.

INTRODUCTION

Human geographers have a special view of the world focusing on the uneven spatial patterns which societies create. These uneven spatial patterns are especially pronounced when observing the residential locations of ethnic groups in the United States. Park (1952), in one of his well known works on human ecology, concluded that because social relationships correlate with spatial relationships and physical distances often index social distances, the study of the locations and movements of cultural groups is a useful approach to understanding the nature of these groups. Geographers are equally interested in the converse process: studying the nature of such groups to understand the locations and kinds of movement imprinted on the landscape. It is not enough to discover and classify spatial patterns; it is necessary to determine how and why these patterns occur and what impact they have on the landscape. Society alters the environment even as the environment directs changes in society, both in a circular flow and counterflow of influences.

Neighborhoods are patterns of structures and activities that leave a definite imprint on the urban landscape. They are that geographic territory which is most familiar and immediate to daily activities, and these are spaces especially pertinent to ethnic groups. Why do ethnic neighborhoods exist? How do they serve their residents? How do these residents impact their neighborhoods? Sociologists, following

Park's lead, found ethnic residential segregation inversely related to assimilation (Duncan and Lieberman 1959); in fact, internal group cohesion is one of the key factors in ethnic residential separation (Boal 1976). Investigating the levels of assimilation and group cohesion should yield an understanding of the geographic character of the ethnic neighborhood.

The coming to power of Castro in Cuba caused a flood of emigrants to flee to and settle in South Florida over the last two decades. These people, many of whom have voluntarily confined themselves to a highly localized area within a brief time span, have the heterogeneous characteristics of the Cuban society from which they come. Their presence provides a unique social science laboratory for the field study of the interaction of culture and environment. This research presents a geographic perspective on the adjustment of the Cuban emigrants to their new homes. Because of the heterogeneity of the Cuban Americans now in South Florida and the possibilities of varying degrees of assimilation and group cohesion, this study investigates the relationship between the assimilation of Cuban Americans and the form and function of their neighborhoods in urban Dade County in which they now reside.

Conceptually, the greater the degree of assimilation, the less the need for an ethnic neighborhood. Generally, assimilation is taken to be a series of related processes through which the differences between two cultures are diminished (Gordon 1964). Geography provides two models for two different types of neighborhoods that address the conceptual relationship between the social (assimilation level) and the environmental (neighborhood form and function). One neighborhood type

(Morrill 1972), a part of the contiguous expansion of the ethnic core, will contain many elements related to ethnicity and will be perceived by Cuban Americans as reflecting and reinforcing their ethnicity. A second neighborhood type (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976), discontinuous from the ethnic core and not directly related to it, will have few ethnically related elements and will not be perceived by Cuban American residents as reflecting and reinforcing their ethnicity. This research then hypothesizes that the Greater Miami neighborhoods selected to represent each of the model types will vary significantly from each other in the assimilation level and group cohesion of the Cuban American residents and in the form of the built environment and the functions the environment provides. The form of the built environment covers cultural landscapes, land use patterns, and relative locations. The functions of a neighborhood environment include the provision of such factors as security and social reinforcement.

The general hypothesis to be tested and around which this study is constructed states:

Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood (discontinuous) can be distinguished from Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood (contiguous) by their residential history, the spatial patterns of their activities, their behaviors, and their attitudes and opinions relating to ethnicity.

Assimilation time framework, past residential locations, residential search behaviors, activity spaces, language behaviors, and attitudes and opinions formulated within an ethnic context are examined individually in a series of fourteen secondary hypotheses.

Four of the secondary hypotheses concern the residential histories of the families studied. It is hypothesized that the discontinuous group living in the assimilation neighborhood will have resided in the United States longer and will have had residential experience outside of Dade County. One subhypothesis asserts that this group will have chosen to depend on public information rather than private connections to locate their present homes. The fourth secondary hypothesis in this subset proposes that the articulation of the reasoning behind each particular residential selection will differ between the discontinuous and the contiguous groups.

An additional four secondary hypotheses cover the activity patterns and behaviors of the families studied. The discontinuous assimilation neighborhood is hypothesized as having fewer outlets for goods and services involving the Spanish language or other ethnic components, and as a result, it is asserted that residents of this neighborhood more frequently choose to patronize outlets without ethnic components. A third hypothesis in this subset states that those residents choosing to patronize outlets characterized by ethnic components are willing to travel farther to do so. The result of less interaction with ethnically oriented outlets leads to a further hypothesis that residents of the assimilation neighborhood are more willing and likely to use English.

The final subset of secondary hypotheses examines attitudes and opinions relating to ethnicity. These hypotheses concern attitudes about language, discrimination, the maintenance of ethnic neighborhoods, personal interaction with non-Hispanics, and cultural reinforcement

among young Cuban Americans. It is proposed that residents of the contiguous expansion neighborhood more strongly support the use of Spanish, articulate stronger feelings about discrimination against Hispanics, favor the continuing existence of Hispanic neighborhoods, and will resist increased interaction with non-Hispanics. These residents will also more strongly support educating young Cuban Americans in the Spanish language and their own ethnic history. The last secondary hypothesis asserts that even when there are similar attitudes about ethnicity in both the discontinuous and the contiguous groups, the reasoning of the respondents given to explain how and why such attitudes developed will continue to differ.

Chapter I contains the first section of the literature review which examined the conceptual foundation of neighborhood as a region, the forms that neighborhoods can take, the functions which they perform, and the two neighborhood models used in this research. The concept of assimilation is presented, and studies relating ethnicity to neighborhood are summarized. Chapter II reviews the literature available on the characteristics and experiences of Cuban Americans especially those living in the Greater Miami area.

The research design is set forth in Chapter III. It presents the formal statements of the overall hypothesis and the fourteen secondary hypotheses, the design of the data collection, and the analysis methodology. The basic data collection instrument is an open ended questionnaire completed through personal interviews with sample families in each neighborhood. The information gathered has been analyzed separately to evaluate the hypotheses and collectively to simply differentiate one neighborhood from the other.

Chapters IV, V, and VI present the results of the analysis. Chapter IV contains a descriptive analysis of the physical characteristics of each neighborhood and some demographic characteristics of the residents. Chapters V and VI contain the statistical results and interpretations produced by crosstabulation and discriminant analysis. The final chapter is a summary of the research results and the conclusions.

The ultimate goal of this research is to place the unique experience of the Dade County Cuban American community within the theoretical framework of ethnic neighborhood studies. The research examines the role of the functions of ethnic neighborhoods, tests the validity of the models used, and increases geographic knowledge of the links among form, function and spatial interaction. In addition, it is hoped that a by-product of this investigation in theoretical geography will be further insight into the complex and enriching aspects of ethnicity in South Florida.

CHAPTER I CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

This research is based on the comparison of two neighborhoods each containing Cuban American residents, an ethnically distinct group in Greater Miami. To formulate a successful research problem, it is necessary to survey the literature in order to fully understand both the concept of neighborhood and of ethnicity as well as other appropriate corollaries. These and other terms which are used in this investigation can be clarified in this way. In addition to the conceptual aspects underlying the research, previous studies of ethnic neighborhoods are reviewed.

Neighborhood

"The neighborhood is a concept that is particularly difficult to pin down" (Murphy 1966, p. 388). "Probably no other term is used so loosely or with such changing content as the term neighborhood, and very few concepts are more difficult to define" (McKenzie 1922, p. 345). Indeed there are almost as many definitions for neighborhood as there are urban sociology and urban geography texts.

✓ Neighborhood is recognized as that most significant urban subdivision having a territorial aspect, and all neighborhood definitions include the specification of a small urban area (Thomlinson 1969).] The

geographic factor of spatial delimitation is essential to the neighborhood concept and must be a part of any research involving a neighborhood. In addition to this geographic factor, there are other criteria which generally relate to either spatial dimensions of human interaction or of physical structures. Sociologists and social geographers stress the activity of neighboring. A neighbor is the proximate stranger who lives nearby and thus accepts certain social responsibilities including some limited exchange of materials, services, and information. "Neighborhoods are territories defined by neighboring relationships" (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976, p. 49). A neighborhood extends as far as the regular spatial interaction among its residents.

Urban planners and urban geographers usually stress a uniformity of characteristics, be they human or part of the built environment. "The neighborhood is an area within which the variations in people and environment are not great enough to produce significant variations in type and quality of public services or of public and private capital investment . . . a special kind of homogeneity" (Warner 1966, p. 187). Urban geographers also link neighborhoods to focal points, facilities serving them, in effect defining neighborhoods as hinterlands. Such focal points include elementary schools and parks (Kiang 1966), small neighborhood shopping centers based on the supermarket (Hoyt 1958), and churches (Northam 1979). It is acknowledged that the territorial extent, the population size, and the degree of cohesiveness can vary greatly (Kiang 1966; Tomlinson 1969).

Most of the functions that neighborhoods might perform can be extracted from the different definitions. Mutual aid is a function

generated by neighboring relationships.] Access to goods and services is an inherent function of neighborhoods as defined by focal points, and homogeneity assures reinforcement of values and provides status identity. Most authors recognize the role the neighborhood plays in the socialization of children: ". . . the micro-environment of the neighborhood is extremely important. . . . It is here that the youth receives much of his developmental support in terms of schooling, his playmates, and the adult standards provided" (Eldredge 1967, p. 891). This source also points out the general physical environment of the neighborhood is one important factor in family welfare.

The impact of the automobile on the role of the neighborhood is noted by sociologists, urban geographers, and planners with many authors indicating that neighborhoods are now of less importance (Hurst 1975). While this impact cannot be ignored, the neighborhood remains the home base. "But for all the innate extroversion of city neighborhoods, it fails to follow that city people therefore can get along magically without neighborhoods. Even the most urban citizen does care about the atmosphere of the street and district where he lives, no matter how much choice he has of pursuits outside it; and the common run of city people do depend greatly on their neighborhoods for the kind of everyday lives they lead" (Jacobs 1961).

The ideal neighborhood, one which exemplifies all facets of these definitions, is a small urban area characterized by a homogeneity of human and environmental factors containing certain focal points providing goods and services with residents involved in neighboring relationships. These subsets of the complex definition indicate the

ways in which an investigator can go about delimiting a potential research area that is a neighborhood. To gather data on neighboring activities before delimiting an area is impractical, but information on demographic and land use characteristics exists. Brief field surveys can also locate potential focal points: schools, churches, parks, and supermarkets.

The literature suggests additional aids in such delimitation. McKenzie states that neighborhoods are thought of as units, and Murphy suggests that many have become "known by separate names whether or not they evidence any considerable degree of social integration" (Murphy 1966, p. 89). Others note that neighborhoods may have clear boundaries including major arterials or special land uses that mark them off from other neighborhoods (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976). The field survey can locate some such potential neighborhood boundaries especially in Dade County where many drainage canals are barriers to interaction. Informal discussions with personnel associated with the focal points would yield information on names linked to recognizable neighborhood units.

An investigator can draw from the literature to develop an operational definition of neighborhood suitable to his particular research situation. The operational definition of neighborhood for this study is a small urban area with the following requirements: (1) socio-economic homogeneity; (2) land use and cultural landscape homogeneity; and (3) a named unit that can be delimited generally by personnel associated with focal points within the area--priests, teachers, clerks.

Ethnicity

Like the concept of neighborhood, ethnicity and its corollary, assimilation, are terms often used imprecisely. An ethnic group is defined by Gordon (1964) as any group set off by race, religion, or national origin. There is a sense of peoplehood. Greely (1969) sees ethnicity as a human collectivity based on an assumption of common origin. Most of the sociological sources agree that recent immigrants who are distinguished by attitudes and behaviors common to their country of origin do constitute a separate ethnic group. Cuban Americans residing in Dade County thus qualify as such an ethnic group.

Traditionally, the assimilation process has been seen as one that begins with two distinct cultures and ends with only one with the weaker culture being absorbed into the stronger. This conceptual process has been refined into a series of steps. First recognized was the difference between cultural assimilation (values, norms, attitudes), and social assimilation (activity patterns), with the former preceding the latter in time (Eisenstadt 1955). More recent studies have added more steps. In the preparatory stage, a secondary ethnic group is formed in a place remote from its cultural hearth. It then adjusts to the new place (Francis 1976). The initial adjustment is followed by acculturation (cultural assimilation) then structural integration (social assimilation). Finally there is absorption. Structural integration has been subdivided into two types. Early in the integration process, secondary activities involving jobs, schooling, and other impersonal contacts begin. Much later, primary

integration takes place involving social organization memberships, friendships, and intermarriage (Rogg 1974).

Gordon (1964) in his more complex analysis has constructed a conceptual framework detailing seven different subprocesses of assimilation. Two of these, cultural assimilation and identity assimilation, can take place without the spatial proximity of persons from the differing groups (ideas interact). Two others, structural assimilation and marriage assimilation, require spatial coinciding. Structural integration can take place without residential integration while marriage assimilation cannot. The three remaining subprocesses, absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination, and absence of power conflict, promote spatial interaction although such interaction may occur without the completion of one or more of these subprocesses (Suttles 1965). Lieberman (1961) speaks of the same processes from a different viewpoint. He discusses how isolation in space impedes assimilation.

While Handlin argued as late as 1959 that Puerto Rican Hispanics as well as blacks in New York were progressing toward assimilation, later authors have denounced the "melting pot" theory (Glazer and Moynihan 1971; Novak 1971; Wilson and Portes 1980). Gordon (1964) has convincingly argued that for most ethnic groups, primary structural integration is never completed which results in a pluralistic social structure. A recent sociological study concluded that there has developed an ongoing stability in ethnic communities including ethnic neighborhoods which continue to serve as sources of personal identity and as bases for political interest groups (Guest and Weed 1976). This agrees with earlier findings that social distance among European ethnics

has remained stable over time (Duncan and Lieberman 1959). Geographers too have recognized this (Moore 1972).

Ethnic Neighborhoods and Neighborhood Functions

Numerous studies detail both the physical structures of neighborhoods and the nature of the neighboring experience (Park 1925; Greer 1962; Keller 1968). A few sources deal on a conceptual level with the fundamental human need for spatial identity in relation to the neighborhood (Fried 1965), and with the intuitive or learned need for territoriality (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976). These studies especially relate to the ethnic experience.

Researchers single out ethnic neighborhoods to illustrate neighborhood form and function. More than any other type, ethnic neighborhoods continue to fulfill the requirements of the traditional criteria defining neighborhood (Hurst 1975). Berry's adaptation of Rees' detailed study of the factorial ecology of Chicago does bear out, in spatial terms, the persistent pattern of ethnic clusters and their distinct ecological content (Berry and Horton 1970). Fitzpatrick's (1966) review of literature on ethnic communities found both a concentrated territorial base and the agglomeration of ethnic institutions that served as focal points.

Social geographers have recognized that ethnic neighborhoods, when created to harbor newcomers, have a set of very special and unique functions: ". . . when socially diverse migrants are thrown together in a new place, they tend to rely more on spatial stratification systems.

Unable to establish clear relationships of social subordination and dominance, people rely on spatial segregation. They practice avoidance in space to prevent conflicts precipitated by unclear lines of class, status, and power" (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976, p. 50).

Most useful to this research is an article that examines the functions of ethnic neighborhoods and classifies these functions (Boal 1976). The functions of defense, avoidance, preservation, and attack have a distinct parallel in the studies of animal territoriality (Soja 1971) but are clearly cultural in their underpinnings. Function is the "why" part of the neighborhood whether one is considering social links or physical forms. The need on the part of ethnic minorities for their own territory for defense from a hostile outside, a need to avoid the unknown until they can adapt, the preservation of traditional patterns for psychological support, and the requirement of a unified home base for a politically aggressive stance may change over time depending on the social assimilation into the larger society. These concepts of territoriality can be found in other works (Rose 1970; Suttles 1968).

The defensive function of an ethnic neighborhood develops because individual members of the group reduce their isolation by joining the cluster, and the groups' physical control of a relatively homogeneous culture area can bring physical security. The security offered can range from the absence of damage to person and property to not having to face derogatory remarks and patronizing attitudes. The avoidance function provides a haven where there is little pressure for social adaptation or change. This function is especially prominent when the language of the ethnic group and that of the dominant group differ.

The function of preservation is often a consequence of the desire to conserve identity. Value reinforcement, mutual aid, a locale for ethnic enterprise, and endogamy are all linked to this function. For most ethnic groups, the attack function is demonstrated through the election of ethnic representatives who will fight for ethnic rights and desires in the political arena. The ethnic neighborhood also can be a source of funds for ethnic organizations promoting courses of action supportive of the ethnic community.

Expansion Model of Ethnic Neighborhoods

Geographical literature provides two different models addressing the spatial development of urban ethnic groups. While these models are formulated around changing areal patterns, they are linked also to assumptions about ethnicity and indirectly relate to changes in territorial functions. The first model is termed the invasion-succession or expansion model. It originated directly from the early Chicago school's ecological approach to immigrants in the city (Park and Burgess 1925). It was incorporated into Shevky and Bell's (1955) social area analysis as the ethnic status dimension and is illustrated in Figure 1. While ethnic areas are described as clusters, they develop as wedges. "Since ethnic status forms a separate dimension for most North American cities, these ethnic areas are not exclusively at one end of the economic status scale, nor are they composed of one family type" (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976). The more socially mobile ethnic residents choose to relocate outward in higher status areas but are

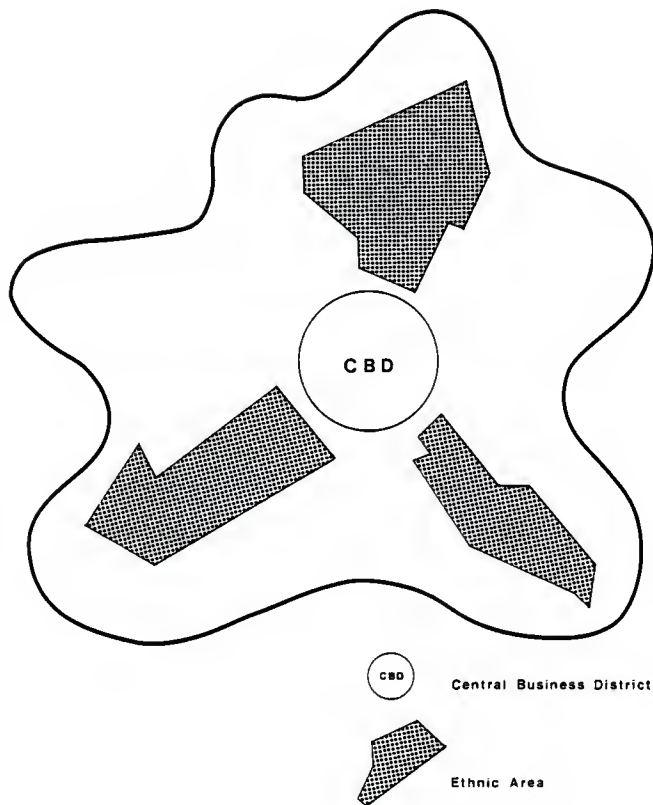


Figure 1. Ethnic Status Areas
(After Murdie 1969)

channeled in some given direction by ties to the ethnic community, limitations on their awareness space (Gad 1973), and constraints imposed by the larger society (Rees 1970).

A classic study of this kind is Morrill's on Seattle (1965 and 1972). Here constraints from without and white flight are the operative forces. Morrill describes ghetto expansion as a block by block activity. Figure 2 illustrates the actual expansion of Seattle's ghetto over a period of twenty years and demonstrates both the contiguous nature of the expansion and the formation of a directional (southward) wedge. Similar results showing the development of wedge shaped patterns for ethnic neighborhoods have been obtained in Milwaukee (Rose 1970), Chicago (Berry and Horton 1970), New York (Novak 1956), Worcester (Creveling 1955), and Toronto (Murdie 1969).

Assimilation Model for Neighborhoods with Ethnic Residents

A model illustrating the spatial assimilation of ethnic residents recently has become available. It was developed and published after the examination of a number of studies documenting the residential integration of different white ethnic groups (Jakle and Wheeler 1969; Wurman and Gallery 1972; Western 1973; Ropka 1973). Figure 3 illustrates and explains this model. Secondary integration in work, shopping, and other activities induces residential relocation. This relocation reduces the friction of distance including lower time and money costs for travel. Step seven of this model illustrates increased ethnic spatial mixing with no new ethnic space created in the relocation

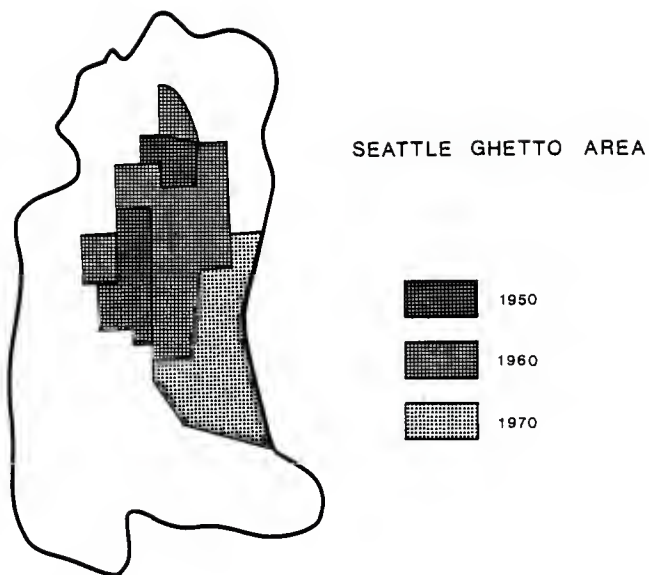
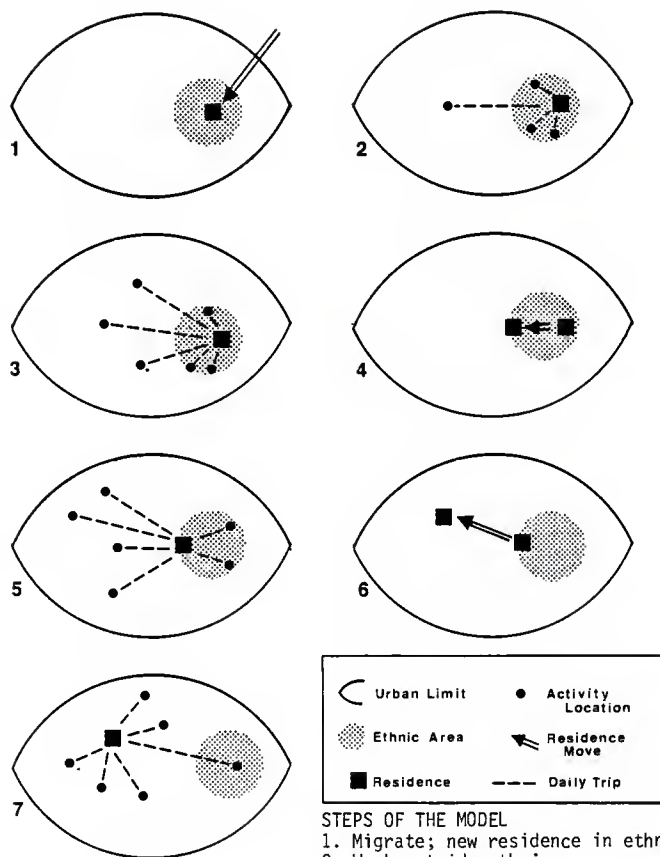


Figure 2. Seattle's Ghetto Expansion
(After Morrill 1972)



STEPS OF THE MODEL

1. Migrate; new residence in ethnic area
2. Work outside ethnic area
3. More activities outside ethnic area
4. Move residence fringe of ethnic area
5. Most activities outside ethnic area
6. Move residence out of ethnic area
7. Less interaction with ethnic area

Figure 3. Spatial Assimilation Model
(After Jakle et al. 1976)

neighborhood. Mesa (1978) in examining this model found that some limited reclusterings can occur in step seven even when the entire model appeared to be operative. Similar suburban ethnic clusters have been found in other studies (Rees 1970). A theoretical foundation for this model can be found in Roseman's (1971) earlier work.

Studies already cited suggest that ethnic groups in the United States generally have followed the spatial assimilation model. More recent non-European immigrants as well as black Americans, groups that appear to be less likely to assimilate socially, have tended to follow the expansion model. A recent publication on Puerto Ricans in New York City (Rosenberg 1974) states that they have patterns more like black Americans than like previous immigrant groups in that city. Researchers have recognized socioeconomic mobility and the growth of internal ethnic class differences may release certain group members from the cluster into patterns of residential dispersion while the pull of ethnicity and the utility of the functions provided by ethnic neighborhoods retain others within the cluster (Marston 1969). Anderson (1962) has suggested that sectoral patterns are associated only with ethnic groups displaying numerical growth. He feels that demographically static groups tend to disperse over time. Boal (1976, p. 64) augments Anderson's insight by adding that "the assimilation of a limited number of group members can be counterbalanced by new members being added to the group, either by immigration or natural growth processes." These findings by Marston and Boal indicate that both models described here could be functioning simultaneously.

Summary of the Conceptual Basis of the Research

Recurring earth patterns suggest underlying principles about how people organize space to fulfill their needs. A framework of geographic concepts derived from studying these patterns direct and guide all geographic research. The specific conceptual basis of this research can be summarized by the following five points. Ethnic neighborhoods perform certain functions and develop certain forms in response to the culturally linked demands of their ethnic residents. As the assimilation process diminishes ethnic differences, the culturally linked demands of residents on their neighborhoods will lessen and change, and this will be reflected in altered neighborhood functions and forms. Some members within an ethnic group may experience different rates and types of assimilation and thus will desire neighborhoods with differing ethnic content. The character of a neighborhood both reflects and also influences the demands of its residents potentially reinforcing or diminishing ethnicity. Two alternative spatial models of ethnic neighborhood development exist and represent differing demands for ethnic functions and forms based on differing levels of assimilation of residents.

Given these two geographic models, expansion and assimilation, pertaining to changing residential locations for ethnic households, it is necessary to determine how appropriate either or both models are for Cuban Americans in greater Miami.

CHAPTER II CUBAN AMERICAN STUDIES

In the two decades since large numbers of Cuban refugees first arrived in the United States, many researchers have studied the group's characteristics and activities both to understand this particular people and to reinforce and extend the conceptual basis of the investigators' respective disciplines. Among the social scientists involved, sociologists, economists, and political scientists have been especially active. Spatial aspects have been absent from or secondary to most of this work. However, a number of these sources offer pertinent background information and insight into the adjustment processes affecting the Cuban immigrants. Other studies examine the kind of changing structure this new group has fostered especially in the greater Miami region.

Demographic Characteristics

A 1980 publication by Dade County's Office of Latin Affairs (Hispanics in Dade County) summarizes many of the characteristics of the residents within this ethnic classification. Since over 87% of the Hispanic residents studied were of Cuban origin, the study results generally reflect the Cuban American condition in greater Miami. Table 1 gives some of the data available on this group. The table

Table 1. Characteristics of Hispanic Residents of Dade County

Characteristics	%
Occupations	
Profession, manager, entrepreneur	26.8
Sales and clerical	12.7
Craftsmen and operatives	41.5
Others	19.0
Unemployed	10.1
Education	
Less than high school	52.6
High school	22.5
Some college	24.9
Married	85.2
Year of arrival*	
Before 1963	45.0
1963 to 1971	44.0
After 1971	11.0
Citizenship (U.S.A.)	43.2
Language	
English sometimes a problem	82.4
Children's preference: mostly English	21.3
mostly Spanish	33.7
mixed	45.0
Have experienced discrimination	7.0
Perceived no conflict with the Anglo population	53.2

Hispanics in Dade County 1980.

*There were small pre-Castro waves of migration to the U.S. The Batista coup of 1952 is felt to have been responsible for 10,276 persons of Cuban origin who became U.S. citizens by 1959 (Moncarz and Jorge, Cuban Immigration 1982).

reflects the responses of an adult sample which helps to explain, for example, the low rate of citizenship and the high rate of language problems. Cubans in the United States are on the average older than the general population (Boswell 1982). Greater age may have some impact on how they interact with their new environment. Another study points out that the high rate of language problems includes not only those persons with little command of English but also encompasses those persons experiencing contempt directed at themselves because of their pronunciation of the language (Moncarz and Jorge, Cuban Immigration 1982). Of particular interest in the Dade study is the very low rate of those who have experienced discrimination as well as the fact that more than half of the respondents perceived no conflict with the dominant group, Anglos. Elsewhere (Jorge et al., A Development Model 1981) it is suggested that discrimination has been expressed mostly through the cultural division of labor which affects Cuban Americans but that they do not recognize this as discrimination.

Table 1 indicates that half the study population arrived in the United States before 1963. Clark (1975) states that this early segment of Cuban refugee immigration consisted of those from relatively high socioeconomic strata in Cuba. These are persons who in Cuba had professional and semi-professional occupations and high levels of education. Most were from the Havana area. There has been a slow alteration in the socioeconomic composition with later waves of immigration drawn from lower socioeconomic levels (Jorge and Moncarz, Cubans in South Florida 1980). In 1974, Cubans who had arrived

recently in the United States were surveyed and they gave information which generally reinforced the patterns already described here. However, unlike earlier arrivals, most of these refugees planned to stay in the Miami area with or near relatives rather than resettle in other parts of the country (Portes, Clark, and Bach 1977).

One notable difference between the population of Cuba and all but the most recent of Cuban migrants is that of race. Until the Mariel wave of immigration, few black Cubans had arrived in Miami. While the pre-Mariel Dade survey indicated only a small increase in the perception of conflict between Hispanics and black Americans as compared to Anglos, the deep racism of Cuba (Gonzales 1982) has been reflected in the poor treatment of black Cubans by white Cubans in the United States (Nicholas and Prohias 1973; Rogg 1974).

Political and Economic Characteristics

Studies which include Cuban American politics have been concerned largely with voting patterns. Most have dealt with party affiliation and the support of individual candidates and issues. In 1973, Cubans in the United States were characterized by their political disunity (Bender 1973). Three studies with political facets should be briefly mentioned because of their relevance to this research. After studying the locational aspects of voting patterns in Miami, Salter and Mings (1972) predicted the increased incidence of ethnic block voting by Cuban Americans. Jorge and Moncarz (Latin-Anglo Cross Cultural Influences 1982, p. 11), on the other hand, stated that up to 1980 ". . . Cubans did not vote en block along ethnic lines. . . ." Perhaps

most important are the Dade survey results showing that less than 10% of their sample of the Hispanic community voted in local elections. This low participation level would appear to be at odds with elected Cuban American officials in such Dade cities as Sweetwater and Hialeah. These are areas with overwhelming Cuban American majorities where even relatively low participation levels could still assure such results. Other areas like the city of West Miami with a population more than 60% Cuban American have no Cuban American officials.

One notes throughout the literature the rapid and successful adjustment of the refugees to the United States system (Prohias and Casals 1973). "The average refugee normally tends to integrate well with his host society. He rapidly identifies with his adoptive country and its national interests, willingly engaging in issue-oriented public and political activities" (Moncarz and Jorge, Cuban Immigration 1982, p. 150). ". . . behavior patterns by the Cuban population as a group conform with the expectations and requirements of the mainstream culture" (Jorge and Moncarz, Cubans in South Florida 1980, p. 44). Wenk in a 1968 study found among the countrywide refugees ". . . a singular desire to adjust and adapt to a new way of life" (p. 49). In 1979, the median income of a Cuban American family, \$17,538, was less than \$2500 lower than persons not of Hispanic origin (Boswell 1982). This may be accounted for partly by the relatively large proportion of Cuban American women in the labor force (Prohias and Casals 1973). Moncarz (1978) found that upward educational and occupational mobility actually has been minimal. There has been an overstatement of Cuban achievement in Miami.

Assimilation

More detailed studies of Cuban Americans throughout the country provide mixed results of the levels of assimilation achieved. The Portes (1969) study of Milwaukee found considerable movement along an assimilation continuum. He attributed this movement to the Cuban American's rational individualistic ethnic well suited to the United States economic system. He states, ". . . the fate of those migrating to the United States as the result of the Cuban Revolution seems to be an eventual assimilation, and hence disappearance as a social entity, into the life of American society, leaving behind, perhaps, some cultural imprints on Miami and a few other U.S. cities" (p. 516). However, a later study in Miami, a city with a large Cuban American population, has led Portes to question the assimilation process (Wilson and Portes 1980). High indices of acculturation, including proficiency in English and a desire for social interaction, were the results of a study in Indianapolis (Prohlias and Casals 1973). The evidence of behavior and value acculturation is the low incidence of maladaptive behavior reported for this group (Jorge and Moncarz, International Factor Movement 1981). It should be noted that early studies carried out in the Midwest involved relatively small Cuban American populations drawn from the first wave of migrants representing Cuba's professional and semi-professional classes. Such groups might be expected to adjust easier and more rapidly.

Among urban areas with large Cuban American populations, assimilation has appeared to proceed more slowly. Rogg (1971) found that while the sizeable Cuban community of West New York, New Jersey, provided

considerable aid in the original adjustment of new refugees, it also slowed later acculturation. A later study in the same area documents the persistence of a separate Cuban American community (Rogg and Cooney 1980). In New Orleans, the downward occupational mobility of the Cuban American residents appeared to be the key to their slow acculturation (Carballo 1970). This downward mobility and its effects have been studied at length by Moncarz (1970, 1972, 1973, 1975). It has been noted also that the strong familial system typical of Cubans is culturally reinforcing thus delaying assimilation (Jorge and Moncarz, International Factor Movement 1981).

Two studies in Miami yielded more ambivalent results. Lopez Blanco (1968) found a host of variables ranging from pre-exile residential location to the number of children in the present household associated with current assimilation levels. Richmond (1980) found strong correlations between acculturation and length of residence in the United States and, most importantly for this study, between acculturation and residential location in urban Dade County. Those Cuban Americans living within the Hispanic sector were less acculturated than those living elsewhere. Dowd (1966) in studying attitudes of young Cuban Americans found that a residential location's potential for neighboring activities was judged to be more important than neighborhood appearance.

Enclave Structure

A large concentration of an ethnic group, as already noted, can more easily maintain that group's ethnicity over time. One of the

more important questions asked in this context has been well put by Jorge and Moncarz (Latin-Anglo Cross Cultural Influences 1982), "Do Hispanics in the United States and, more to the point, Cubans in Miami, constitute a separate enclave in South Florida, or, contrariwise, are they in any detectable manner influencing the fabric of the larger society in which they live"? (p. 2). They answer their first question by describing the ubiquitous Cuban presence and influence in Miami: ". . . the predominance of certain typically Cuban and Latin institutions, organizations and behavior patterns among Cubans and Hispanics is a tangible reality" (p. 8). But, they further state that while the maintenance of social customs and other cultural differences would be hard to overemphasize, the importance of the economic enclave may have been exaggerated. An important conclusion of this work is that the inner structure, functioning, and basic operational modes of society-wide institutions in Dade County have not been modified in any meaningful way nor have any of the associated behavior patterns: ". . . superficial manifestations of cultural change . . . in no way affect fundamental values and norms of the host society and only marginally impinge upon the instrumental ones" (p. 10). Jorge and Moncarz have a view of the Miami Cuban case where the ethnic identity is most sharply focused on lifestyle.

Wilson and Portes (1980) deal with the Cuban American experience in Dade County by analyzing the ethnicity of the economic structure of the enclave. There are numerous Cuban owned enterprises (8000 in 1976), where almost all of the entrepreneurs, management, and labor are of Cuban origin. In addition, there is vertical integration among

Cuban firms with what these authors label ". . . ethnically sympathetic sources of supply and consumer outlets" (p. 301). These ethnic links allow for upward mobility of labor and the exercise of entrepreneurship with less risk. Cuban American entrepreneurs have access to markets and sources of labor isolated from the general economy by barriers of language and culture thus giving them an edge. They, in return, maintain a solidarity of ethnic preference in hiring and purchasing goods and services. The newly arrived, including the Mariel refugees, have an option of economic incorporation within the enclave not available to other immigrants. Wilson and Portes conclude that ". . . such opportunities may help explain why many immigrants choose to stay in or return to the enclave" (p. 315).

Jorge and Moncarz (Cubans in South Florida 1980) do not ignore the economic nature of the enclave. They feel that Cuban economic activities are oriented toward consumer needs. Similarly, they feel that this orientation ". . . helps not only to preserve the cultural characteristics and identity of the economic agents, but also by its very nature offers mutual support in generating income and jobs amongst Hispanic peoples" (pp. 47-48). They acknowledge that Cuban Americans have created a closely knit market which is largely self-supporting. The non-Latin consumer figures only marginally in the Latin business market (Jorge and Moncarz, International Factor Movement 1981). However, they also state that Hispanic enterprises are not yet proportional to the total Hispanic population nor to the Hispanic labor force nor the personal income levels of Hispanic residents. The percentage of sales generated is below the percentage of firms owned by Hispanics.

The increase in economic viability that the Miami area has experienced is the result of a symbiotic relationship of Hispanic and native factors with the synergetic effect of this union accomplishing what neither component could produce alone (Jorge and Moncarz, The Future of the Hispanic Market 1982). The region now enjoys a great advantage in the international economic field because the development of the economic enclave has transformed Latin Americans' potential demand for the goods and services of Miami and its southern hinterland into effective demand (Jorge, The Case of Cuban Labor Migration 1982).

Much of the growth of the Hispanic enclave in Dade County has come from the return of resettled refugees from other parts of the United States. This is what Wilson and Portes indicated in their enclave analysis. About 65% (300,000) of all refugees who registered with the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center through 1965 were resettled outside of Florida, especially in the northeastern portion of the country (Clark 1975). There are still 41.5% of Cuban Americans outside of Florida, 20% of them in New York and New Jersey (Boswell 1982). In 1972, 27.4% of the Cuban American population of Dade County were returnees (Clark 1973), and six years later, it was estimated that 40% were returnees (Miami Herald 1978). In the Dade County sample previously described (Hispanics in Dade County 1980), the reasons most often given for returning to the Miami area were not related to economics but rather to the climate (45.6%) and to be near family (21.7%). The enclave structure may facilitate rather than prompt the return decision. The returnees sampled stated their intentions of remaining permanently in the Miami area and predicted that many others like themselves will also

return. The conclusion of the Dade study is that the Latin population of the county will continue to increase at a faster rate than other segments of the population because of the return to the area of Cubans who were resettled elsewhere in the United States.

Geographic Aspects of Cuban American Studies

The Miami Metro Dade Department of Publicity and Tourism produces a colorful pamphlet on Little Havana which describes Westchester and Hialeah as suburbs of Little Havana and details the famous Hispanic restaurants of Calle Ocho that now have branch facilities in these Hispanic suburbs. Indeed, the Dade County statistical survey recorded intra-county mobility patterns showing that 51.8% of the Hispanic residents classified as movers have relocated in West Dade (the Westchester area), and 27.3% have relocated in Hialeah. Over half of the West Dade Hispanic residents previously had lived elsewhere in the county and most came from Little Havana illustrating a classic movement outward in a sectoral pattern. More of Hialeah's Hispanic residents have lived only in Hialeah, but movers came largely from Little Havana and Allapattah, the neighborhood directly north of Little Havana (Hispanics in Dade County 1980). This also is the pattern anticipated by the expansion model.

Of all the studies surveyed, only six dealt specifically with the geographic patterns of Cuban Americans. Of these, five focus on Dade County. The sixth study by Mesa (1978) investigated the link between intra-urban residential mobility and ethnicity in Lansing, Michigan.

Mesa found that Cuban Americans had abandoned an original center city core neighborhood for suburban areas where some limited reclusterings had begun. Although the influence of the ethnic community was seen in the residential search behaviors of these people, their new locations reflected the socioeconomic characteristics of the households (class) rather than locations near family and friends. These results are partly in accord with the assimilation model. Since the ethnic community in Lansing is relatively small, no actual parallel development of institutions was observed.

A recent general study of the residential patterning of ethnic populations in metropolitan Miami (Aguirre, Schwirian, and La Greca 1980) found that socioeconomic status explained some but not all of the residential differentiation encountered. A significant degree of residential dissimilarity was found for nine different ethnic groups including Cuban Americans. Those of Cuban origin were more centrally located than expected even when their status was considered. They were equally separated from other ethnics (located in distinctly different neighborhoods), whether residing in central or fringe locations. When the Cuban American residents were divided into three income strata, all three groups retained this spatial separation. The authors of the study believe that this marked dissimilarity of residential location for Cuban Americans is the result of a voluntary process.

Bacon (1976) found Cuban American separation from Anglos at the census tract level was very high, higher even than their separation from black Americans. While studies based on census tract data can be deceiving, Bacon's findings are reinforced by Winsberg's (1979) more

recent study. Winsberg uncovered patterns of Latin residential areas forming distinct sectoral shapes. Because these patterns developed over a twenty-four year period from 1950 to 1974, the growth of the sectors outward was also discovered. This is the same pattern created by an invasion-succession process basic to the expansion model.

Winsberg also noted outliers of Hispanic population in what the author labeled as overchange areas; these are areas with more Hispanic residents than a location quotient would anticipate. The majority of these outlying Hispanic population clusters are located within an extended projection of the sectoral pattern already described. However, a few small indicators of incipient clusters also appeared in the northeastern portion of the metropolitan area. Winsberg in a discussion of his findings refers to an apparent "white flight" of Anglo residents which has added to the separation of Hispanic and native neighborhoods.

The 1974 thesis research done by Eichelberger examined residential movement of Cuban Americans in Miami. His focus was on the rising Cuban American socioeconomic status (especially in occupations) and its impact on residential locations. Eichelberger used a location quotient, like Winsberg, to measure residential dissimilarity. He described the sectoral expansion pattern and a history of short frequent moves by Cuban Americans out from the core area to the fringe suburbs. Economic assimilation (rising income levels and a growing similarity of occupations of Cuban Americans as compared with Anglos) was greater in the suburban portions of the Hispanic sectors. A negative correlation was found between economic assimilation and the residential concentration of Cuban Americans. Only wealthier Cuban Americans were able to

select their first residential location in Dade County in the suburban areas.

The final geographic study of relevance to this research was completed in 1978 by Woodbury. He investigated the spatial growth of the Cuban core area within the context of spatial diffusion theory. His interest was in the outward replication of the Latin lifestyle and economic structures as typified in Little Havana. He used the presence of Latin grocery stores as a surrogate measure of the replication of the core community. Two barriers to concentric diffusion were identified: areas with a high percentage of black residents and areas with high socioeconomic status. Expansion patterns developed from empirical field work when compared with patterns generated from diffusion theory have similar sectoral forms. While Woodbury assumed that Latin grocery stores follow the movement of Hispanic households into an area, his composite region of the Cuban community in 1978 covers considerably more area than the 1980 census figures show to be majority Latin. It appears that a relatively small proportion of Hispanic residents can meet the threshold of an ethnic grocery store. Woodbury's prediction is that ". . . most of the Spanish residents will continue to become acculturated and will diffuse throughout the county" (p. 70).

This literature review indicates that the Cuban American community of Dade County has a complex societal structure, in part separate from and in part intertwined with the larger American society. This is reflected in the communities' spatial patterns with clearly discernible Hispanic sectors but increasing penetration into new and separate areas. It is given this multifaceted background that this investigator

must formulate an appropriate research design to examine the ways in which Cuban Americans interact with their neighborhoods.

CHAPTER III RESEARCH DESIGN

The traditional literature on ethnicity states that ethnic persons living in the United States exist along an assimilation continuum. Part of the mechanism of the assimilation process is an ever increasing contact of ethnics with the ideas, institutions, and people of the majority group which surrounds them. The location of ethnic people thus plays a major role in the amount of intercultural contact available. Location of residence is a prime factor structuring the nature of these contacts. Past geographic research has developed two models explaining the changing residential patterns of ethnic households. Literature on Cuban Americans suggests that both models are applicable, especially in Dade County. It is reasonable to assume that neighborhoods exemplifying each model can be found because Cuban Americans are distributed along the assimilation continuum and thus have changing lifestyles which correlate with different residential choices. Specifically, Boals' (1976) four functions of ethnic neighborhoods become less important as the degree of assimilation increases to the point where this functional support provided by an ethnic neighborhood is no longer required.

Process and Place

The literature does not elaborate yet on cause and effect relationships. To what degree does the character of the neighborhood speed

assimilation? How much acculturation and integration must occur before a non-ethnic neighborhood is selected as a residential location by an ethnic household? Both relationships exist. A neighborhood can facilitate the assimilation process while a more acculturated and integrated household will have less need of an ethnic neighborhood. The assimilation model suggests that first activity space expands and non-ethnic contact increases before a residential change to a non-ethnic area occurs. The selection of a residential location in this model is an outcome of movement along the assimilation continuum by ethnic migrants. There is, however, some indication that Cuban Americans who were resettled or chose early to move outside of Florida, and thus were immediately exposed to a non-Cuban community, have experienced some acceleration of the assimilation process resulting from their location; that is, they have been removed from strong cultural reinforcement. It might be that cause and effect are mutually determined and feedback occurs. Different circumstances, including the number of persons of any given ethnicity in an urban region at a given time, will direct the flow of influence between process and place.

Research into this theoretical "chicken and egg" type question requires a gathering of data on both the levels of assimilation in attitudes, behaviors and activity patterns, and also the residential history of the concerned ethnic populations being studied. The direct aim of this research is to discover if the type of neighborhood, ethnic or non-ethnic, is correlated with the living patterns of the ethnic persons residing within each. The first step of the research design was to formulate one general hypothesis. This hypothesis then

was broken down into a series of secondary supporting hypotheses. Methods for collecting and analyzing data to test the hypotheses then were elaborated.

General Hypothesis

The overall research hypothesis on which this study is based is as follows:

Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood can be distinguished from Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood by their residential history, their activity patterns, their behaviors, and their attitudes and opinions relating to ethnicity.

Secondary Supporting Hypotheses

Residential History:

1. Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will have resided in the United States for longer periods of time than those in the expansion neighborhood.
2. Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood are more likely to have resided previously outside of Dade County than Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood.
3. Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will have depended more heavily on public sources of

information, real estate agents and newspapers, than those in the expansion neighborhood to locate their present residence.

4. Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will be less likely to offer reasons linked to reinforcing ethnicity for selecting their present home and neighborhood.

Activity Patterns and Behaviors:

5. Fewer of the outlets for goods and services in and around the assimilation neighborhood will have ethnic components (names, products, Spanish speaking personnel), than those in the expansion neighborhood.

6. More of the destinations of periodic journeys (to shop, worship, recreate), of Cuban Americans residing in the assimilation neighborhood will be to destinations lacking an ethnic component compared with the expansion neighborhood.

7. More of the ethnically linked destinations of the periodic journeys of Cuban American residents of the assimilation neighborhood will be located outside their neighborhood and thus they will travel farther to those destinations than will the residents of the expansion neighborhood.

8. Cuban Americans residing in the assimilation neighborhood will be more willing and more likely to interact in English than will those in the expansion neighborhood.

Attitudes and Opinions Relating to Ethnicity:

9. Fewer Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will hold attitudes favoring the greater use of the Spanish language throughout the region than will Cuban American residents in the expansion neighborhood.

10. Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will express knowledge and opinions denoting less awareness of and placing less importance on discrimination against Hispanics by non-Hispanics than will residents of the expansion neighborhood.

11. Fewer Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will manifest attitudes favoring the development and maintenance of ethnic residential areas for group support, cultural reinforcement, and political action than will Cuban American residents in the expansion neighborhood.

12. More Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will hold attitudes favoring primary patterns of interaction between Hispanics and non-Hispanics than will Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood.

13. Fewer Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will communicate concern over the education of young Cuban Americans in the Spanish language and their own ethnic history than will Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood.

14. When Cuban American residents of both neighborhoods communicate similar attitudes and opinions on ethnic issues, the reasons offered to explain the foundation of these attitudes and opinions will differ significantly by neighborhood.

The secondary hypotheses allow for investigation of the time frame-work for assimilation, past residential locations for assimilation, and residential search behaviors. They identify present activity space and present language behaviors. The hypotheses also require the discovery of various attitudes and opinions formulated in the context of ethnicity by the populations to be studied.

Some of the secondary hypotheses are related to Boal's (1976) four functions of ethnic neighborhoods. The defense function relates to hypothesis 10 concerning prejudice and discrimination. Hypotheses 8 and 9 dealing with the use of English and Spanish, and hypothesis 12 on interethnic primary interaction, relate to the avoidance function. Hypotheses 5, 6, 7, 11, and 13, covering ethnic outlets for goods and services, group support, and education, all revolve around the cultural reinforcement function. The attack function is only found in a part of hypothesis 11, political action based in ethnic majority areas. The hypotheses are formulated with the presence of the four functions expected in the expansion neighborhood but weaker or absent in the assimilation neighborhood.

Methods of Data Collection

In order to test the hypotheses put forth in the research design, it was necessary to interview Cuban American residents of Dade County.

The information gathering procedure included five steps: selecting the two study neighborhoods, selecting the households to be interviewed, designing the questionnaire, pretesting the questionnaire, and interviewing.

Selecting the Two Study Neighborhoods

This research is based on the literature which suggests that ethnic households, as they move to improve their residential locations, select between two different types of locations. Some households select neighborhoods within the expanding ethnic sectors with improved opportunities near the leading edges. Other choose neighborhoods outside of ethnic sectors although often where some few others of similar ethnicity already reside. The literature suggests also that the choice of which type of neighborhood to select is linked to the degree of ethnic assimilation of the household. This research design is structured to compare the residential histories, present activity patterns, and ethnically linked attitudes and opinions of Cuban Americans who moved within an expanding Cuban sector, to those who moved outside such a sector. The questionnaire in Appendix A was developed to gather data to make such a comparison. To administer the questionnaire, two such different populations had to be identified and sampled. This was carried out in two different steps: (1) identifying and selecting potential populations, and (2) sampling from each selected population.

To identify the two potential populations, it was necessary first to identify the expanding Cuban American sectors of Dade County. This

was done by constructing two maps showing the location of the Hispanic population of the Miami SMSA from United States census data for the years 1970 and 1980. Figure 4 presents the area of Hispanic population in 1970, and Figure 5 for 1980. Figure 6, derived from Figures 4 and 5, indicates which areas can be considered part of the recent expansion of the Hispanic sectors; this figure also indicates the remaining urban areas that are 10% to 29% Hispanic. Areas with less than 10% Hispanic population were eliminated as potential study areas because it would be very difficult to locate enough Cuban American families to study in any given neighborhood. Areas of 30% to 50% were avoided in selecting a final study neighborhood because it was thought that while they possessed enough Hispanic residents to be identified as Hispanic neighborhoods by non-Latins, they lacked sufficient time or critical mass to develop non-residential establishments oriented toward serving the Hispanic residents.

The literature is clear that ethnicity is not the only factor affecting residential locations, activity patterns, and attitudes (Jakle, Brunn, and Roseman 1976). While there is no way to completely control for all other factors, the researcher elected to limit potential study populations by using an additional criterion, income as a surrogate for class. Figure 7 gives the 1970 income patterns for the potential study areas shown in Figure 6. (The 1980 U.S. census tract data on incomes were not available at the time the two study neighborhoods were being selected.) Areas of very high or very low income next were eliminated. It was felt that the extremes of income would greatly bias activity patterns: The poor would be unable to travel considerable

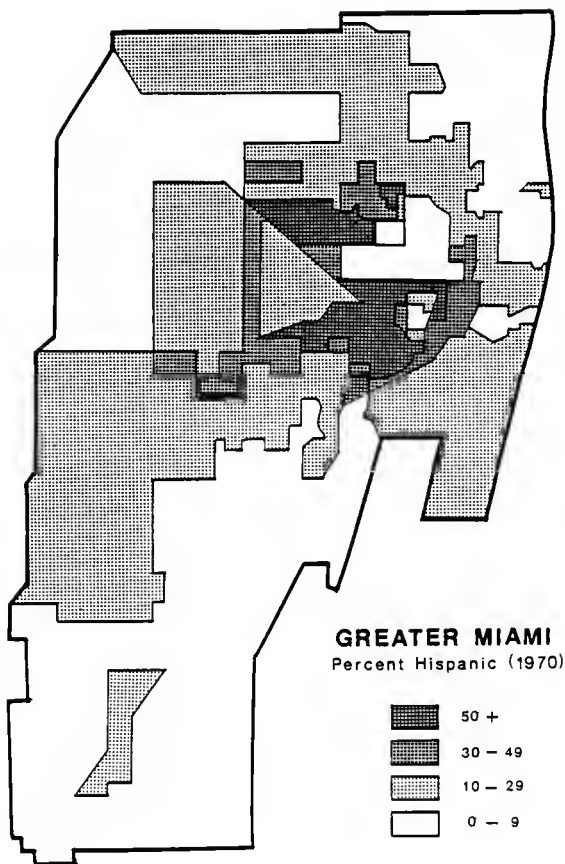


Figure 4. Hispanic Population in 1970
(U.S. Census 1970)

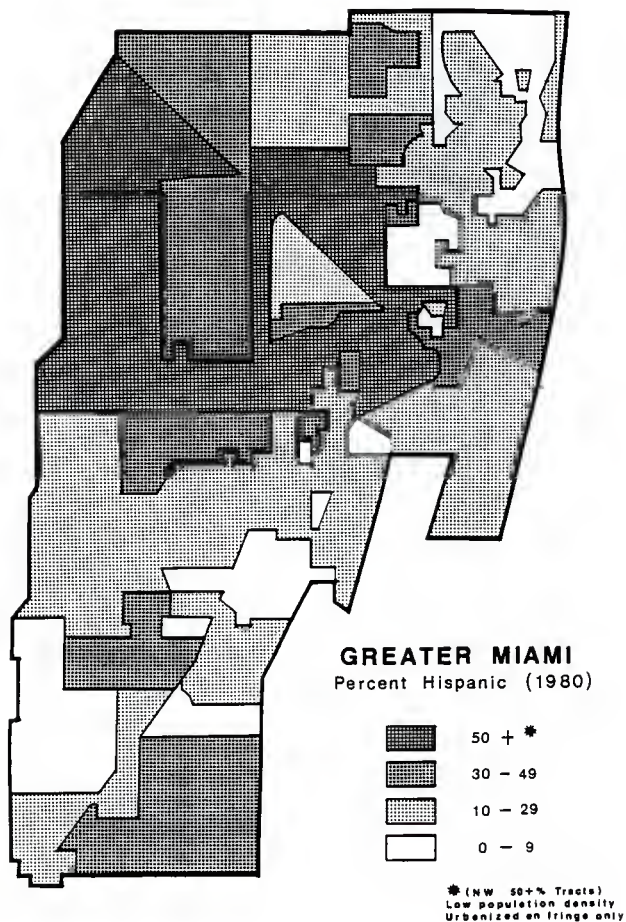


Figure 5. Hispanic Population in 1980
(U.S. Census 1980)

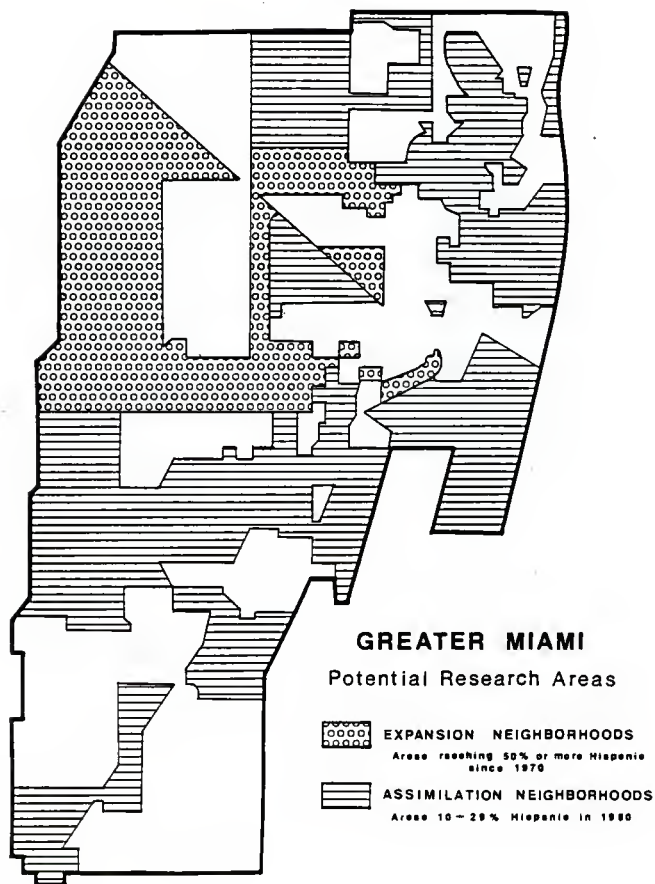


Figure 6. Potential Research Areas

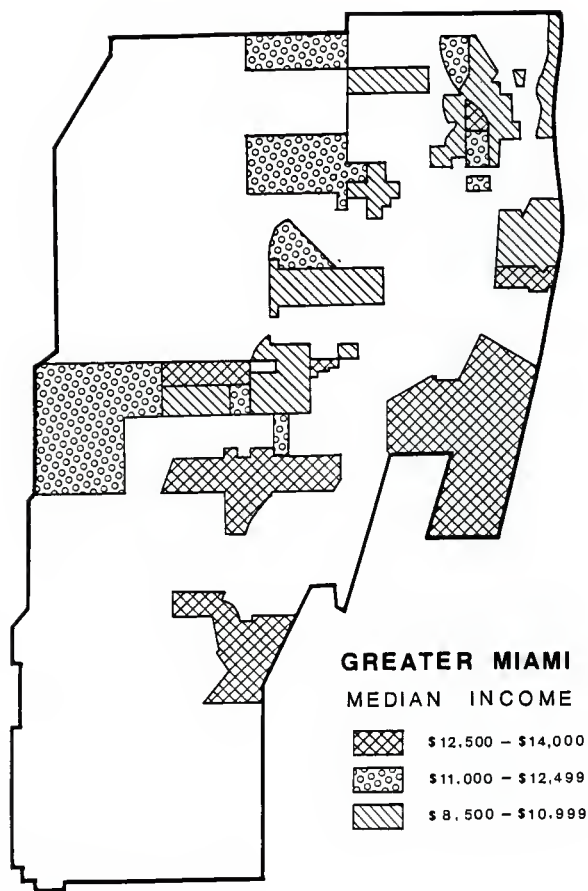


Figure 7. Median Income of Potential Research Areas
(U.S. Census 1970)

distances to grocery stores, churches, and movies, and often might not dine out or use beauty salons; while the rich would probably overcome the friction of distance so easily that locations might be irrelevant. Indeed the poor are constrained greatly in their choices of residential sites. For the wealthy, the functions of ethnic neighborhoods (defense, avoidance, reinforcement of culture, attack) often can be obtained without reference to some ethnic territory.

At this point, the areas remaining were examined by a preliminary field study, and urban planners and real estate agents were consulted to try to find two neighborhoods similar in most socioeconomic respects. If this could be done, then ethnicity would be the major factor separating the two study populations from each other. As a result of the preliminary field study and the informal interviews with informed persons, two additional criteria were suggested. Only neighborhoods consisting mostly of single-family homes were included, and special preference was given to areas known by neighborhood names and readily identified in general location (extent described) by planners, real estate agents, school officials or some retail store personnel. The restriction of using only single-family homes was felt to be a further control on other non-ethnically linked differences (class, family composition) within the neighborhood. The use of neighborhoods known by name greatly facilitated preliminary information gathering and made later sampling more accurate.

After the application of the two additional criteria, few potential study neighborhoods remained either inside the Hispanic sectors or outside of them. Studying more than one neighborhood of each type was

contemplated but rejected. The large concentration of Cuban American households in all of the potential Hispanic neighborhoods meant that any statistically acceptable sample would be large relative to the interview process. The researcher finally personally selected two neighborhoods, one within the Hispanic sector and one outside, matching these two neighborhoods socioeconomically as closely as possible based on the information then available. The neighborhood selected to represent the expansion model, located in an over 50% Hispanic region, is Palm Springs in the northern part of the City of Hialeah. The neighborhood selected to represent the assimilation model, located outside the Hispanic sector, is Breezeswept in the central portion of the City of North Miami.

Figure 8 shows the location of the two neighborhoods within the greater Miami area. Once the neighborhood selection process was completed, a sampling procedure could be developed. Since neither neighborhood has any political jurisdiction, no precise population figures exist to give the exact total population of each neighborhood nor the exact Hispanic or Cuban American population. The best data come from the 1980 census using tracts (block figures were not available). For Palm Springs, census tract 92 figures were used as a base. The neighborhood includes all of tract 92 and about one-third of tract 93.03. Tract 93.03 includes many apartments and high-rise condominiums in the western half beyond the neighborhood. For Breezeswept, census tract 3.04 was used. The neighborhood is somewhat smaller than this tract. Western portions bordering I-95, a major expressway, are not considered part of the neighborhood. A consensus on the western border

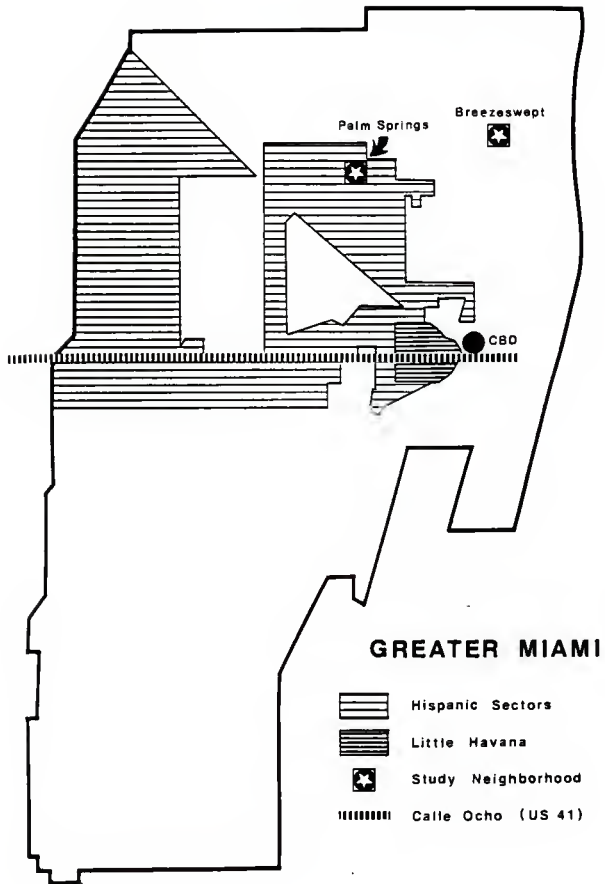


Figure 8. Location of the Study Neighborhoods

does not exist. Non-Hispanics living east of Miami Avenue felt their neighborhood stops at the avenue, but the Breezeswept Shopping Center is west of the avenue, and persons living around the shopping center consider themselves in the Breezeswept neighborhood. Part of the eastern edge of the census tract is occupied by high-rise buildings with many units occupied by elderly widows. These not not included in the study neighborhood.

After the two research neighborhoods were identified, several days were spent in each area comparing the land use patterns with aerial photographs, casually speaking with persons in local establishments and determining the exact neighborhood boundaries. The determination was based on the location of barriers to circulation, changes in landscape content, and on the perception of local citizens about the extent of their neighborhoods. The exact positions of the specific boundaries are detailed in Chapter IV where a complete characterization of each neighborhood is developed.

Selecting the Households to Be Interviewed

Having identified the study areas, it became possible to construct the framework from which individual households in each neighborhood could be drawn for interviews. The framework was developed from large-scale aerial photographs used to count the number of single-family homes in each area. Recent vacancy rates for the general area were obtained from city planners. By using this information along with the 1980 census tract information, a population estimate was reached for Cuban American

households in each neighborhood. Appendix A details this procedure. The results reached in Appendix A are 1876 Cuban American households in Palm Springs, and 296 Cuban American households in Breezeswept. An appropriate sized sample of each of these populations had to be specified so that the results obtained from the questionnaires would be representative of the entire populations in a statistically accurate manner. Appendix B gives the statistical formula used to determine the sample sizes based on the population levels arrived at in Appendix A. The sample size determined for Palm Springs is 95 and the sample size produced for Breezeswept is 75.

In order to draw the actual random samples, it was necessary to create a sampling frame for each neighborhood. All streets within the neighborhood were listed along with the highest and lowest neighborhood street numbers. Each street was checked in the 1981 Bresslers Directory, and all Hispanic last names and addresses were copied and numbered. These lists were reviewed by two different Cuban Americans in an attempt to eliminate any non-Hispanic last names. Of course, persons without phones or with unlisted numbers were not included because they are not listed in the directory. Persons with non-Hispanic last names but Hispanic first names were included. Cuban Americans whose names do not reflect their ethnicity were also missed. The total eligible household number extracted from the directory for Palm Springs was 1937, and for Breezeswept was 382. Sample frames were larger than populations estimated in Appendix A because the use of last names to construct the frame meant the inclusion of non-Cuban Hispanic residents. A random number table was used to select each sample. After selection,

households were phoned to determine if they were Cuban American. Incorrect selections were replaced with others randomly selected in the same manner. Once a household was selected, its number was removed from the sample frame.

During the initial phone call, a brief mention of the study was made, and the respondent was informed that he or she would receive shortly a letter explaining the study in greater detail. Appendix C contains a copy of the letter. Not all of those originally contacted agreed to cooperate. Some individuals completely refused. Others were hard to locate after the initial contact and appropriate interview times were never arranged. The sample frame was retained to replace the missing interviews. Some replacement interviews were carried out by sociology students from Miami-Dade Community College. Altogether, 19% (14 interviews) of the original Breezeswept sample, and 36% (34 interviews) of the original Palm Springs sample had to be replaced. There was a higher rate of outright refusal in Palm Springs; however, after interviewing began in Palm Springs, some of the subjects contacted early helped to facilitate arranging later interviews.

Designing the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed in Spanish. Appendix D contains a copy of the final version of the questionnaire and an English translation. Open ended questions were developed to enhance the sense of collaboration between the interviewer and the household. The literature shows that such a format leads to greater accuracy in the responses

because of the potential for increased data collection (Bradburn 1979).

A questionnaire containing forty-seven questions was formulated with four sections. Questions 1 to 11 cover background information and demographics on the households including occupation and educational level of the head of household and the year when the head of household immigrated to the United States. Questions 12 to 27 relate to residential history and attitudes about residential areas in Dade County. This section contains questions covering the selection of the present neighborhood and house, the family's past residential patterns and questions soliciting personal opinions about the neighborhoods being studied.

Questions 28 to 33 investigate the activity patterns of members of the household. Questions selected were involving actions that could reflect ethnic preference with establishments outside the home. These activities include grocery shopping, personal care (beauty salon and medical care), recreation (restaurant dining and movies), and religious worship. As stated, these six were selected because it was felt that most of the households would be involved in many of the six activities, and because these activities would illustrate the importance of ethnic links between the households and specific outlets for goods and services.

Grocery stores and supermarkets in Dade County vary in the inventory catering to Latin preferences. Restaurants and movie theaters are similar in the variety of their offerings. In the case of beauty salons, doctors' offices, and churches, it was felt that the need to

communicate specific wants and the close physical or mental contact involved would highlight any demand for use of the Spanish language and for contact with someone similar in ethnicity to facilitate understanding. A seventh question concerning membership in social, civic, or professional organizations was dropped because very few of the respondents participated in such organizations. The data of interest, obtained from these questions, are the nature and location of the establishments patronized. Is the establishment structured to facilitate serving a Latin clientele? How far do household members travel to patronize each establishment? The aim is to discover if Cuban Americans distant from Latin-oriented establishments travel greater distances to have access to these establishments or instead change over to closer non-Latin oriented outlets.

Questions 34 to 47 have been constructed to learn about attitudes and opinions linked to the use of the Spanish language and about other facets of Latin ethnicity in Dade County. It is felt that the desire and ability to use Spanish instead of English will influence residential location and activity patterns. Six questions, 34 to 39, investigate this subject and cover both the language experience of the interviewee and more general attitudes about the place that the Spanish language should hold in Dade County.

Five other questions, 40 to 43 and 46, concern attitudes about the interaction between Latins and non-Latins within and outside their neighborhoods. The general information sought is whether or not residents from the two neighborhoods under study hold similar or different attitudes about Latin/non-Latin interaction. Two questions,

44 and 45, about the education of Cuban American children, focus on attitudes reinforcing ethnic identity through language and a knowledge of ethnic history. The last question covers political patterns at the neighborhood level. It was developed to determine whether Boal's (1976) fourth neighborhood function, attack, was present among Cuban Americans in Dade County. In this case, the question concerns attitudes about ethnic block voting.

Pretesting the Questionnaire

The original questionnaire had only minor revision after review by several colleagues using the English version. This version, translated into Spanish, was given to three different Cuban Americans to correct and improve the vernacular. The questionnaire was used in twenty pretest interviews. Five interviews with Cuban Americans in Gainesville were carried out to check the clarity of questions, the length of presentation, and other administrative mechanics. These subjects were persons from Dade County going to school in Gainesville; thus they could attempt to answer most of the questions. Their answers were useful in evaluating the clarity of the questions and the time required for the interview. In the case of question 27, names of different well known Dade County areas were used such as Coconut Grove, Westchester, and Kendall. After some slight adjustments, fifteen additional interviews were carried out in Dade County, more than half in areas finally selected for study. As a result of the pretest, the questionnaire was reorganized and shortened by eliminating four

questions and combining three others. Questions eliminated concerned detailed travel patterns, generalizations about destinations, and one which involved the respondent's use of a map. These questions proved too lengthy, confusing, and required too much effort on the part of the interviewer. Some of the Spanish wording again was modified slightly. For example, question 46 never was worded to everyone's satisfaction in Spanish, so the English word "date" was added in parenthesis on the questionnaire. Every attempt was made to keep the entire interview process within a one hour time limit.

It was decided that during the interview, the respondent would hold a copy of the questionnaire so that he or she could read along as the interviewer asked each question. Answers were written down as the response was given. It is felt that the pre-test greatly aided in the clarification of the final version and in the presentation of the interview. Fifteen responses proved to be too few to anticipate any trend in content including questions that yielded little or perplexing information later. Comments about such questions are treated in the analysis.

Interviewing

All interviews were conducted in Spanish although some respondents occasionally shifted to English during the interview. In the majority of cases, more than one family member was present, and this second person would contribute occasional information. In about one-third of the interviews, the wife or grown child of the head of household

was the respondent. Most interviews lasted between forty-five and seventy-five minutes, and generally all of the questions were answered in some fashion. Interviews began in July 1981 and the process was completed by February 1982.

Methods of Analysis

Descriptive and statistical analytical methods were used. Chapter IV is a descriptive characterization of the neighborhood landscapes. Some quantitative census and planning information is included. Supplementing this material are general opinions of the type of neighborhoods being studied as offered in many of the informal discussions about each area.

Questionnaire data were processed statistically using Crosstabs and Discriminant Analysis sub-programs in the computer software package SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, 7th edition). The first step in such analysis was the classification of the responses to the open-ended questions. Appendix E presents both the initial classification and a second edited data set. The second partial re-classification was necessary because a chi square test of statistical significance cannot be satisfactorily carried out when over 20% of the cells have expected frequencies of less than five. Only by accepting the loss of information resulting from the combination of two or more classes of responses can the testing proceed to generate significant results. The Crosstabs program testing used the edited data set while Discriminant Analysis used the complete unedited data file constructed from the first classification.

Crosstabs produces contingency tables which show a distribution of responses to each question by neighborhood. A chi square value is generated to indicate whether or not the neighborhood response patterns vary significantly from each other on each question. Values of chi square smaller than .01 are highly significant. Those between .05 and .01 are also significant since five percent or less of the time would a random sample accidentally erroneously yield apparently meaningful results.

Crosstabs includes three other tests of statistical significance. The phi (for a two-by-two table) or a Cramer's V (for a larger table) measures the degree of association, that is, the strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Values run from 0 meaning no association, to 1.0 meaning a perfect association. The asymmetric lambda measures the percentage of improvement in the ability to predict the dependent variable (the neighborhood), when the value of the independent variable (response to a question) is known. A value of 0 means no improvement in prediction; a value of .5 means a 50% improvement in prediction; and 1.0 allows for perfect prediction. The asymmetric uncertainty coefficient gives the proportion by which the uncertainty in the dependent variable is reduced by the knowledge of the independent variable. Values run from 0 to 1.0, where 1.0 is the total elimination of uncertainty. Independent variables with high values of phi or Cramer's V, lambda and the uncertainty coefficient, are discussed in Chapter V.

The results of the crosstabulations are analyzed in the next chapter and presented in statistical detail in Appendix F. They show

that in spite of attempts to control factors other than ethnicity, the two neighborhoods differ significantly both in the education level and the occupation of the head of household. An attempt to control statistically these two differences was carried out by running two Crosstabs sub-programs using three-way crosstabulation tables. Because of previous discussions with other researchers suggesting that the nature of the residential histories might be of prime importance, the significance tests of variable 18, which measures residential experience outside of Dade County, were examined. Because of high values, another set of three-way crosstabulation tables was produced, this time controlling for variable 18.

Discriminant analysis provides a statistical method to distinguish between two or more groups (neighborhoods) through the use of a collection of discriminating variables. The discriminating variables in this research situation are the classified responses from the questionnaires. The variables are used to force the groups to be as statistically distinct as possible. In the case of only two groups, one discriminant function, which is a linear combination of the discriminating variables, is formulated with weighting coefficients given. The weighting coefficients can be interpreted much as in multiple regression or factor analysis and serve to identify those variables which contribute the most to the differentiation between groups (SPSS, 2nd edition). After the function is formulated, the original set of cases can be processed through the classification technique of the sub-program. The adequacy of the function thus is checked by determining how many of the cases are classified correctly. The aim of the

classification technique is to have each interviewed household classified into its own neighborhood based on the responses from each individual questionnaire by using the discriminant function.

All of the available data from the questionnaire were used to formulate the first discriminant function. A stepwise procedure was employed so that only those variables needed to reach the greatest possible separation of the neighborhoods were selected. Rao's V was used as the stepwise criterion. Rao's V is a generalized distance measure that leads to the greatest overall separation of the groups. The sub-program also creates a histogram of the distribution of cases along the function. Such histograms are illustrated in Chapter VI.

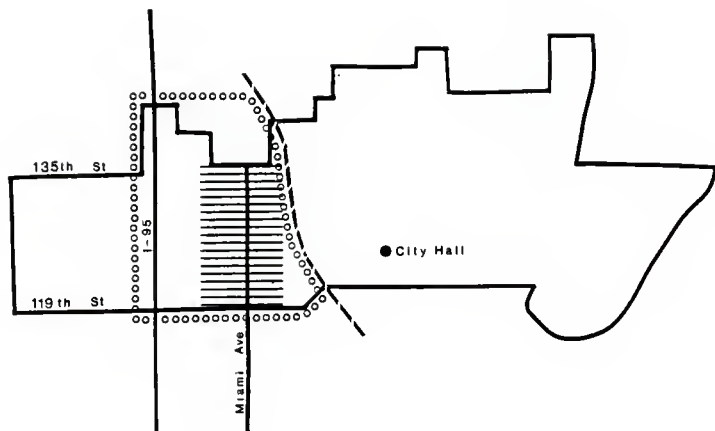
Discriminant analysis was carried out twice using the sub-program. Full results are found in Appendix G. After the first run, any variable with an "F to remove" value of less than 10.0 was eliminated. The goal was to reduce the number of discriminating variables in the final discriminant function. This both lessens the impact of multicollinearity within the function, as well as allows for clear interpretation of the results. Both analyses provided separation of the neighborhoods. Interpretation of the results of the discriminant analysis is found in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER IV NEIGHBORHOODS

The character of a neighborhood is drawn from its residents whose lives, in turn, are affected by the nature of their neighborhood. Having knowledge of the neighborhood's built environment and of the demographic background of its residents provides a foundation for an understanding of their activities and attitudes. The two study neighborhoods have been examined to determine their extent, land use, cultural landscape, special concerns, and demographic characteristics.

Relative Location and Land Use: Breezeswept

Breezeswept is located in the center of the city of North Miami. Figure 9 shows the exact location and extent within the city of the Breezeswept neighborhood. Figure 10 presents the actual spatial and land use patterns. The neighborhood straddles Miami Avenue, the street used to divide east from west in the entire Dade enumeration system. The neighborhood's southern limit is the southern boundary of the city demarcated by 119th Street, also called Gratigny Road, which farther to the west is the northern boundary of the Palm Springs neighborhood. On the north, it is bordered by 135th Street, called Opa Locka Boulevard west of the city, a major through street with access to the North/South Expressway I-95. The neighborhood stretches the equivalent of sixteen



NORTH MIAMI




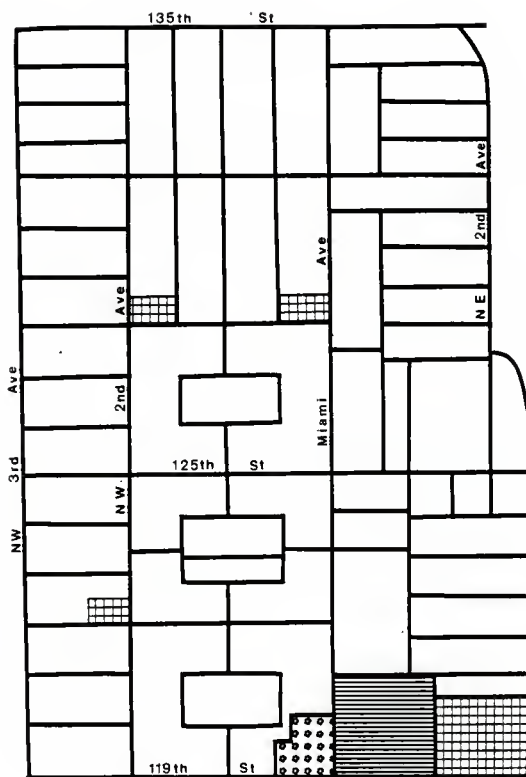
-  Breezeswept Neighborhood
-  Census Tract 3.04
-  Canal

Figure 9. City of North Miami



Breezeswept

-  School
-  Shopping Center
-  Church

Figure 10. Breezeswept

blocks from north to south edges. To the east is the Biscayne Canal. Some of the residences along the canal, especially along the southern third of the neighborhood border, are multi-unit buildings which were excluded from the study. For purposes of developing the sampling frame, NE Second Avenue was used as the eastern edge. To the west, there was no consensus on where Breezeswept stopped. To an outsider, the logical boundary would have been I-95, a sharp barrier to interaction; however, no one consulted considered homes near the expressway to be a part of the same neighborhood. As one travels west through Breezeswept towards the expressway, both the value of the homes and their size and general appearance decline. Because of these factors, NW Third Avenue was chosen by the researcher to be the western boundary. The neighborhood stretches the equivalent of five blocks from east to west.

The land use is predominantly residential. Included are four non-Catholic churches, an elementary school, and a small shopping center called the Breezeswept Shopping Center. There is only very minor strip commercialization along the north and south boundary streets, but they do carry a much heavier flow of traffic than do other streets including 125th Street and Miami Avenue which are also through streets. The neighborhood Catholic church and parochial school actually are located on property abutting the expressway and thus outside of the boundaries used for the sampling frame. A minority of the Catholic respondents went to church services on the campus of Barry College, a Catholic college just one-half mile to the south, or went elsewhere in the city of Miami Shores, considered a more exclusive location.

The Breezeswept Shopping Center is composed of one long building subdivided into nine separate units for individual business. These include a jewelry retailer, florist, dentist's office, beauty salon, orthopedic shoe store, Weight Watcher's office, barber shop, coin laundry, and a small supermarket. Abutting the center are a service station, 7-11 convenience food store, and McDonalds. The only unit of special interest to this study is Arango's market. It services the Latin clientele with ethnic produce, packaged goods, and non-food items. The manager and at least one clerk speak Spanish. Customers were observed using Spanish. Most of the Breezeswept respondents patronize this store as do some other non-Hispanics in this area.

Characterization: Breezeswept

The city planner for North Miami characterized this area as a low density residential area of single-family homes inhabited by middle-class persons with no notable planning-related problems. The planner's only concern was that there should be more parks near the area. She said that generally the neighborhood had a low citizen participation rate in citywide activities developed to draw out ideas from residents. However, a somewhat larger area including Breezeswept but directed by a small group of residents living west of the expressway has been organized into a homeowner's association which was rumored as being interested in preventing the ownership turnover into both black and Hispanic hands. Certainly there are more black and Hispanic residents to the west in an area where homes are valued lower. It is not known if any Breezeswept residents are active in the organization.

Descriptions gathered from real estate agents included price ranges for homes from \$60,000 to \$90,000 which were generally holding their value but not rapidly rising in value. Most of the homes were constructed in the early 1960s and consist of three bedrooms and two baths. The agents estimated the rate of the turnover of ownership as low to average compared with other neighborhoods throughout the greater Miami region. The residents were described as middle to upper middle class ranging from older couples, slowly moving away, to newer, younger families replacing them. In general, agents felt that the newcomers were more likely to be higher on the socioeconomic ladder, often with working wives, because inflation had pushed the purchase prices out of the range for those now at the socioeconomic level of the original owners. The proportion of residents who are Hispanic is perceived by the agents as very low and as quite recent but slowly growing. So far, none of the agents considered the Hispanic population as having an effect on sales patterns, that is, increasing listings or lowering asking prices. Several speculated that this might occur soon. None of the real estate agents or their colleagues speak Spanish. Most characterized Breezeswept as a nicely settled family area.

The homes are attractive in appearance with what has become known as a Florida look. The most common exterior finish is a type of plaster or stucco in white or pastel colors. Roofs are white tile or shingles, and many homes have white aluminum awnings. Yards are small and most are well kept and landscaped with subtropical trees and shrubs common in urban Dade County. Swimming pools are found in all parts of the neighborhood but are not common. Most outdoor activity is focused on

the back yard. Fences and hedges are frequently seen but they are more decorative than functional; that is, they are not high enough, solid enough, or continuous enough to either prevent passage or provide privacy. Few of the secondary streets have sidewalks or curbsings. There is not much traffic off the through streets and few pedestrians are seen away from the school, shopping center, or around churches at the times of services. The general image created is of a clean, quiet area.

Statistical Data: Breezeswept

The neighborhood studied is smaller than census tract 3.04 because the study area does not include the multi-unit dwellings to the east, nor the less expensive residential areas on the west, nor the portion of the tract outside the city to the north. Nevertheless, the 1980 census for this tract provides the only statistical data available and is used by the city planning department in analyzing the area. Table 2 summarizes demographic and housing statistics about Breezeswept. These statistics characterize Breezeswept as composed of white, non-Hispanic, middle aged married people in three person family units. They live in and own moderately sized and priced homes. Even though the neighborhood is somewhat smaller than the census tract from which these statistics are drawn, it is presumed that the population has about the same ethnic proportions as the entire census tract since the eastern, older, whiter, less Hispanic area of the tract probably balances off the western, less white, more Hispanic area. Breezeswept is most likely younger and more balanced in its sex ratio, with a higher proportion of

Table 2. Breezeswept Statistical Characteristics, 1980

<u>Demographic Factors</u>			
total population	8133	median age, all (male)	42.5 (40.5)
% non-white	7.2	% 60 yrs. or more*	24.7
% Hispanic	18.7	% in family households	90.5
% Cuban American	9.4	average no. children under 18 per household	.7
% female	53.2*	average size, household	2.7
% adults, married	60.3		

<u>Housing Factors</u>			
total housing units	3067	% Hispanic, owner occupied	86.8
% vacant	1.7	median rooms per unit	5.0
% owner occupied	87.5	median value, owner occu- pied non-condominiums	\$48,000

U.S. Census 1980.

*Many elderly widows residing within the census district are not within the Breezeswept neighborhood.

married couples and more children present than is the entire tract. This is because there are less elderly widows living in Breezeswept itself. All members of the sample owned their own homes. As expected, the census tract median home value was lower than figures given by real estate agents. This is partly due to the way in which each source arrived at estimated home values, but also Breezeswept contains more expensive homes than other sections of the tract and over a year had passed between the census and interviews with the agents. Areas near the expressway are especially undesirable locations depressing home prices. Keeping these potential variations in mind, these figures can be used as a basis for comparing Breezeswept with Palm Springs.

Relative Location and Land Use: Palm Springs

Palm Springs is located in the north central section of the city of Hialeah. Figure 11 shows the exact location and extent with Hialeah of the Palm Springs neighborhood. Figure 12 presents the actual spatial and land use patterns. The neighborhood's northern and eastern limits are bordered by canals and major through streets: On the north is NW 122nd Street, also called Gratigny Road, and on the east is Fourth Avenue known as Red Road, both running parallel to canals. The neighborhood name is actually used for the area extending south to both sides of 103rd Street, a major arterial lined with heavy commercial development including the Palm Springs Mile shopping area. Because of this commercial land use and the multi-family units which are found adjacent on the north, the canal south of 106th Street was

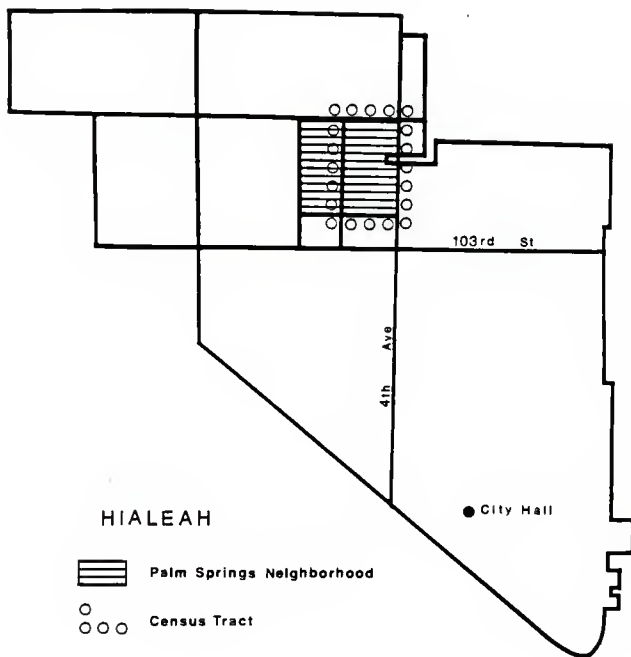


Figure 11. City of Hialeah

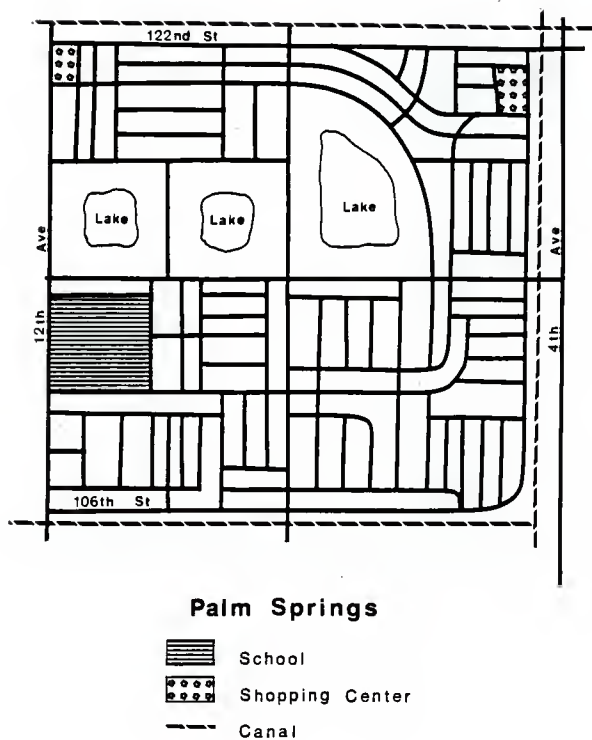


Figure 12. Palm Springs

used as the southern boundary for the sampling frame although in later discussions of local activity patterns, trips to this commercial area are considered within the neighborhood.

Like Breezeswept, there is a lack of consensus on the western boundary of Palm Springs. The western half of census tract 93.03 is identified clearly as Westland named after the very large enclosed shopping mall located there. Residential land use in this area is dominated by high rise structures. The researcher decided to use the north-south street with the heaviest traffic flow within the single family home section of tract 93.03 as the boundary. This is 12th Avenue also known as Ludlam Road. Clearly many of the residents between 12th and 14th Avenues think of themselves as living in Palm Springs. A secondary reason for excluding this subsection was that the size and appearance of the homes indicated some lessening in the socioeconomic standing, a point reinforced by real estate agents' comments. Finally, two parks and a junior high school border on 12th Avenue create large amounts of non-residential land use there and a feeling of some loss of residential continuity. There is some limited commercial strip development on 12th Avenue.

Using the neighborhood borders described, Palm Springs is an equivalent of sixteen blocks long from north to south and seven blocks wide from east to west. This is an area comparable to Breezeswept in size. It should be noted that a small portion of the eastern edge of the neighborhood is a finger of land belonging politically to unincorporated Dade County rather than to the city of Hialeah. This was unknown until after the sampling frame had been created. This anomaly

is not shown on any of several widely used street maps including one at a scale of 1:23,750. The county planning census tract map for 1980, 1:62,500, also fails to indicate this feature. Wall maps later consulted in the Hialeah Planning Office do illustrate the area as excluded from their jurisdiction. Since no questions on the questionnaire concern city services, this is not felt to be a major problem for the six cases located in the unincorporated area. The boundary discrepancy was discovered when one respondent mentioned it in relation to ethnic block voting. Respondents in all six cases used the term Palm Springs to describe where they reside.

Land use in Palm Springs as in Breezeswept is predominantly residential and is characterized by single family detached homes. Also included are an elementary school bordering a park, a junior high school, two small shopping centers, and three moderately sized artificial lakes. These are private lakes with access only through private property. They cover about 10% of the neighborhood land. They enhance considerably the value of the private homes surrounding them. Unlike Breezeswept, the character of the two small shopping centers within the sampling area is not as important. The neighborhood has very highly developed commercial areas on both its northern and southern edges and several smaller centers on 4th and 12th Avenues on the sides of the streets excluded from the neighborhood (east side of 4th and west side of 12th). Many different kinds of retail outlets are present, from chain supermarkets with special produce and package sections with Latin foods, to Latin restaurants and bars, to Spanish language movie theaters, to a specialty shop selling only religious

items and statuary catering to a Catholic Hispanic clientele. Establishments providing goods and services with no particular ethnic links such as hardware stores, drug stores, and dry cleaners usually have their largest sign announcing the function in Spanish, "ferreteria," etc. Spanish was the language spoken in most stores at the time of interviewing; however, whenever the researcher used English, some employee would respond in English. This is not true in all areas of urban Dade County including some other parts of Hialeah.

While Spanish is heard around the neighborhood schools and some of the faculty members speak it, these schools are not a part of that specially designated group within Dade where Spanish is used in the classroom to teach other subjects normally taught in English. Palm Springs schools are English only language schools. There are no churches in the neighborhood, but there are several located nearby including Protestant churches with only Spanish language services. The large Catholic church and affiliated parochial school is a short distance to the southeast of the neighborhood. It offers services in Spanish and English.

Characterization: Palm Springs

Hialeah planners recognize Palm Springs as one of the city's neighborhoods, and it has been designated Unit 10; they extend the western boundary by four blocks to include some homes of lower value and several multi-family units. It is not a unit of great concern to planners because there are no land use conflicts here, and less than

1% of the land remains undeveloped. Unlike Breezeswept, there are several parks nearby, but planners mentioned some concern with the heavy traffic flows through the residential neighborhood along 8th Avenue and on 53rd, 56th, and 60th Streets. A 1976 local planning study identified 3091 single family housing units paying an average monthly mortgage of \$214. The net density was 6.9 units per acre with an average of 3.6 persons per unit. Of these, less than 1% of the residents were non-white, and only 37.2% were listed as Hispanic. Planners and other Hialeah officials recently had begun providing both Spanish and English versions of public city documents.

Real estate agents estimated a price range for single family homes in Cuban American almost identical to the range given (by different agents) for Breezeswept with the exception of some higher priced homes of \$90,000 or more located on the private lakes. During the summer of 1981, the agents felt that the value of the homes in this neighborhood was still rising. Most of the homes had been built in the late 1950s, had three bedrooms and two baths. The turnover in ownership as perceived by the agents was described as lower than average for north-western urban Dade County. These agents described the inhabitants as upper middle-class families with teenage children in a mixed Hispanic-Anglo area. They admitted that few non-Latin families now come into their offices searching for homes for sale in the area. The planners also mentioned the inevitability of this becoming an almost entirely Hispanic neighborhood. While real estate agents conceded the fact of "Anglo flight" from northern Hialeah including Palm Springs, they did not feel that this had hurt business, especially not in Palm Springs.

This is because of the high Hispanic demand for clean, quiet neighborhoods. All real estate offices had some Spanish speaking employees.

The general physical construction of the homes and the appearance of the yards in Palm Springs is quite like Breezeswept. Styles are somewhat different, but the materials are similar. Nevertheless, changes are beginning to take place. More homes in Palm Springs are now painted vivid colors. Substantial walls have been constructed around some homes, and facades or porches with arches also have been added. A minority of properties have some religious statuary or shrines. There are more sidewalks throughout the neighborhood, and more people, especially children, are seen on the streets and in front yards. As the planners noted, generally there is more car traffic through the area. The aerial photographs indicate a scattering of swimming pools in Palm Springs as in Breezeswept. More of these pools appear to be constructed above-ground. The overall impression of Palm Springs is of a clean, attractive neighborhood with more human activity than in Breezeswept whether because of a denser population pattern or because of more visiting among neighbors.

Statistical Data: Palm Springs

The neighborhood as delineated in this study includes all of census tract 92 and about one-third of census tract 93.03. That third is visually identical with the area in tract 92 and covers about the same acreage. The remaining two-thirds of tract 93.03, the Westland neighborhood, is very different in character both visually and

demographically. Because of this, the statistics available for tract 93.03 are not useful in analyzing Palm Springs. The researcher believes that a doubling of the absolute counts in census tract 92 would most accurately reflect data for the neighborhood. However, the following data from the 1980 census are drawn only from tract 92 with no alterations. Table 3 summarizes demographic and housing statistics about Palm Springs. These statistics characterize Palm Springs as composed of white, Hispanic, married adults in their thirties, in family units of three to four persons. They, like their Breezeswept counterparts, also live in moderately sized and priced homes. These characteristics are felt to be generally correct for the entire neighborhood not just for tract 92.

A Comparison of the Neighborhoods

Field observations and census observations demonstrate a similarity in neighborhoods except in those particular characteristics directly linked to ethnicity. These both are areas of single family detached homes of like appearance and value in well-kept predominantly residential neighborhoods inhabited by middle-class nuclear families composed of couples and their children. While the age distribution and size of families appear somewhat different, this is accounted for largely by the elderly singles living on the edge of Breezeswept as well as some older couples who still remain in their family homes there. To be sure, differences can be found, but most are ethnic in origin including some visual alteration of the residential cultural landscape

Table 3. Palm Springs Statistical Characteristics, 1980

<u>Demographic Factors</u>			
total population	4115	median age, all (male)	35.4 (33.3)
% non-white	5.5	% 60 yrs. or more	12.8
% Hispanic	59.6	% in family households	97.0
% Cuban American	49.1	average no. children under 18 per household	1.0
% female	52.3	average size, household	3.5
% adults, married	60.7		
 <u>Housing Factors</u>			
total housing units	1236	% Hispanic, owner occupied	79.9
% vacant	3.2	median rooms per unit	5.6
% owner occupied	87.0	median value, owner occu- pied non-condominiums	\$59,100

U.S. Census 1980.

with colors, walls, facades, and shrines in Palm Springs. The socio-economic status of the two neighborhoods is the same. The active street and yard life in Palm Springs also may reflect Latin cultural patterns. Above all, the commercial fringe areas of Palm Springs, full of establishments with products and services directed specifically at a Latin clientele, distinguish the neighborhoods from each other even to the casual observer. The field observations confirm secondary hypothesis 5: Fewer of the outlets for goods and services in and around the assimilation neighborhood will have ethnic components (names, products, Spanish speaking personnel), than those in the expansion neighborhood.

Now, understanding the general similarities and differences between the two study neighborhoods, the residents' responses to the questionnaire can be analyzed and put into perspective.

CHAPTER V
VERIFICATION OF THE HYPOTHESES THROUGH
CROSSTABULATION ANALYSIS

The fourteen secondary hypotheses developed in this research define the specific ways in which the two study neighborhoods are expected to differ. These hypotheses also link the four basic functions of ethnic neighborhoods, defense, avoidance, reinforcement, and enhancement (attack), to the particular histories, activities, and attitudes of the residents. Seven of the fourteen hypotheses are supported when the variable values extracted from interview information are compared through crosstabulation analysis. Differences in residential histories are strongly sustained. Differences in activities and behaviors are partially accepted; however, differences in attitudes and opinions are mostly rejected.

To understand how and why each secondary hypothesis has been accepted or rejected, each of the fifty-nine variables originating from the classification of data in questionnaire responses are examined. Appendix E contains a classification of subtype responses for each variable. The crosstabulation analysis using subtype values produced fifty-nine separate two dimensional contingency tables each showing a joint frequency distribution. All contingency tables are presented in Appendix F. This analysis allows the investigation of the relationships between each of the response subtypes (values of

the independent variables) and the neighborhood of each sample household (the dependent variable).

Table 4 summarizes the results of all fifty-nine contingency tables in four categories based on chi square significance levels. The levels used to evaluate significance are .01 or smaller for highly significant, .05 to .01 for significant, and .05 or larger for not significant. The four categories used to separate the fifty-nine tables are (1) percentage responses that are highly different significantly between neighborhoods; (2) percentages which indicate a significant difference at the .05 level; (3) percentages that are not different significantly between neighborhoods but which were expected to show a difference; and (4) those not different significantly that do not affect the hypotheses.

Of the fifty-nine variables analyzed, twenty-five are found in category 1 and fourteen fell into category 2. The remaining twenty variables did not show any significant differences although the fourteen in category 3 were expected to do so. Significant values for the phi or Cramer's V, lambda, and uncertainty coefficients are presented in Table 5 and are mentioned in the following discussion only where the values are large enough to add meaning to the analysis.

The patterns found in each of the contingency tables are evaluated below by clustering related variables in the following groups:

(1) background information, variables 1 to 6; (2) residential history and opinions on residential locations, variables 7 to 23; (3) activity patterns and behaviors, variables 24 to 31, 33 to 35, 37, 38, 43, 45, and 48; and (4) attitudes and opinions relating to ethnicity, variables

Table 4. Significance of the Variables in the Crosstabulation Results

Highly Significant (.01)		Significant (.05)	
Variable Number	Content/Variable Name	Variable Number	Content/Variable Name
2	occupation of head of household	1	age of head of household
3	education of head of household	4	year head arrive in U.S.A.
7	years in present house	5	years as a family
8	how learned about present house	9	primary reason selected house
13	primary reason avoiding zones	11	primary reason search zones
14	secondary reason avoiding zones	12	secondary reason search zones
15	location of previous neighborhood	21	neighborhood name
17	why moved from last residence	22	why like present neighborhood
18	lived outside Dade	25	location Latin market
19	past addresses in Dade	31	location church
23	opinion of the other neighborhood	35	capability in English
26	beauty salon type and location	40	why Dade bilingual
28	location Latin restaurants	42	why employees speak English
29	patronize Spanish language films	55	how should children learn Spanish/history
34	location doctor		
37	language spoken		
38	language workers speak		

Table 4. continued

Highly Significant (.01)	
Variable Number	Content/Variable Name
43	know of inter-ethnic problem areas
44	cause of inter-ethnic problems
47	why no problems your neighborhood
48	personal discrimina- tion
49	should ethnics live together
50	why live together
54	why learn Cuban history
57	why dating okay

Table 4. continued

Not Significant but Expected to Be So (.05+)		Not Significant (.05+)	
Variable Number	Content/Variable Name	Variable Number	Content/Variable Name
16	years at last address*	6	size of household
24	buy Latin groceries	10	secondary reason for selecting house
27	patronize Latin restaurants	20	number of moves within Dade
30	language of church service	45	problems in your neighborhood
32	why language of church service	46	why problems in your neighborhood
33	language of doctor	59	relation to bloc voting
36	your preferred public language		
39	should Dade be bilingual		
41	should employees speak English		
51	children learn good Spanish**		
52	why learn good Spanish		
53	children learn Cuban history		
56	inter-ethnic dating		
58	bloc voting		

*Variable 16 is not significant because the contingency table was compressed.

**Even after compression, over 20% of the cells had expected frequencies less than five; not a valid result.

Table 5. Significant Values for Measurements of Degree of Association between Independent and Dependent Variables

Variable	Phi	Cramer's V	Lambda	Uncertainty Coefficient
7		.364		
8		.544	.397	
13		.396		
15		.570	.413	
17		.372		
18	.436		.373	
25		.593	.480	.317
28		.664	.587	.382
37		.483		
38	.696		.627	.434
44		.441		
47		.773	.667	.561
50		.467	.373	

32, 36, 39 to 42, 44, 46, 47, and 49 to 59. Groups 2, 3, and 4 are subdivided into the same three cluster types as the secondary hypotheses presented in the research design.

Demographics and Background on Households

The first section of the questionnaire measures general household information providing background for the study. Although great effort was exerted to select matched neighborhoods which would have similar socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, such total control is impossible with human populations. Ideally, the data gathered for the variables age of head of household, occupation of head of household, education of head of household, years as a family unit, and size of household would indicate no differences between the two study neighborhoods. These variables do show significant differences meaning that the neighborhood matching is not perfect. These background differences must be considered in the evaluation of the remaining statistical results. The year the head of household arrived in the United States was expected to differ because degree of assimilation is correlated with time of exposure to the new culture.

The Breezeswept sample has a younger population than Palm Springs. Variable 1, significant at the .05 level, shows that 65.3% of the Breezeswept heads of household were younger than forty-five while Palm Springs has only 48.5% in this category. Both have the same percent of their population sixty-five and older. The impact of the age difference is not clear. The general but untested feeling in the Cuban American

community is that older persons adjust more slowly. On the other hand, these somewhat older families contain more teenagers who are likely to introduce more elements of the non-Latin culture into the household. Thus the age bias does not appear to be unidirectional.

The highly significant differences of variables covering occupation and education are of more concern because they correspond with class status which in turn influences the assimilation process and the selection of residential neighborhoods. Heads of household of the expansion neighborhood, Palm Springs, have less prestigious occupations and lower levels of education. Over 40% of both samples are white collar workers, but the blue collar work force is twice as large in Palm Springs. The Breezeswept group had 15% more heads of household with at least some college education. These differences could bias other results which might be the product of class differences rather than differences related to neighborhood form and function. Most likely, differences in the two sample populations are related to both neighborhood characteristics and to class status.

The differences in class status cannot be eliminated but their strength can be assessed. A further crosstabulation analysis was carried out in a three-dimensional format used to control and isolate the influence one independent variable may have on another. Of a potential of 228 additional contingency tables, only seventeen yielded the type of cell frequencies needed to validate the distributions found when the analysis was controlled for occupation. All seventeen tables contain frequency distributions for only white collar workers in each sample population. The full results of this analysis are found in

Appendix F. Sixteen of the tables, comparing only households with similar occupations, duplicate the results obtained from the full samples. This appears to indicate that occupation only has limited influence on the nature of other responses and on the values of the other independent variables.

The crosstabulation controlling for differences in education also produced only seventeen usable tables: Two tables measured respondents with high school educations, eight tables measured respondents with some college education, and seven tables measured respondents with a college degree or higher. Over half of these tables produced results very similar to the results obtained from the entire sample. Full results are in Appendix F. While thirty-four tables are too few to conclude that the apparent neighborhood class status differences are minor, it is felt that one can state with confidence that status factors are not responsible for most of the variation found between Breezeswept and Palm Springs. The two unique neighborhood profiles developed from the data reflect more differentiation than can be accounted for by the occupation and education patterns of each neighborhood. In addition, neither variable 2 nor 3 was selected in the discriminant analysis which extracted those factors with the most power to differentiate between Breezeswept and Palm Springs.

The results of the variable, year of arrival in the U.S., confirm the first of the secondary hypotheses. Residents of the assimilation neighborhood have spent more time in this country. In Breezeswept, 84% of the respondents had arrived before 1965 as opposed to 69.5% for Palm Springs.

The number of years since the family comprising the household was formed has the same impact as the age of the head of household. Older persons are household heads of older family units. The size of the household was statistically the same for both neighborhoods. While these background variables do not demonstrate the uniformity ideally sought for in this study, and while the differences discovered must be kept in mind during the final evaluation of the research results, these differences are not so great or glaringly contradictory as to invalidate other findings.

Residential History and Opinions on
Residential Locations

Seventeen variables (variables 7 to 23) are concerned with residential locations and residential histories. All but three of these independent variables provide significant levels of difference between neighborhoods. Data contained in this subset clearly distinguish the expansion from assimilation neighborhood. Secondary hypotheses 2, 3, and 4 are all sustained by these results.

Palm Springs residents generally have resided in their neighborhood longer than Breezeswept residents. Not only is this result highly significant, but the variable which measures years in present home is one of thirteen variables contained in the final discriminant function described in Chapter VI. There has been more time for Palm Springs residents both to shape their neighborhood and be shaped by it. It is known that the now easily observable Hispanic influence in the Palm Springs area is largely a product of the last ten years. The

Cramer's V indicates that the number of new Hispanic residents added to both neighborhoods has been larger in more recent years. This is entirely as expected since neither neighborhood was a part of the Hispanic core region.

Secondary hypothesis 3 (Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will have used more formal methods to find their present homes than those in the expansion neighborhood) is supported by the cross-tabulation results. Over 70% of the Breezeswept sample located their current residences by using real estate agents and the classified section of newspapers, a pattern common in most large cities. Thirty-nine percent of Palm Springs residents used informal means of relatives and friends, and 32.6% used self-searching means by driving through familiar neighborhoods looking for sales signs. No Breezeswept family found a home by such self-searching; most were unaware of Breezeswept before their formal search contacts. The ethnic links of the Palm Springs sample influenced their search behaviors as would be expected in a less assimilated group.

This variable yielded a large Cramer's V and a notable lambda. This shows that the neighborhoods have a strong inverse relationship in the degree of formality in their search behaviors. This link among degree of ethnicity, formality of search behavior, and type of neighborhood selected is a logical extension of the literature and an important empirical finding. It is suggested that the methods used to search for housing limit the potential sites; that is, realtors and newspapers usually present wider locational offerings than the knowledge of friends and relatives or the driving patterns of the searcher hampered

by his degree of familiarity with the entire urban area. The importance of the variable is further enhanced by its number three ranking in the discriminant analysis.

Variable 9 (primary reason for selecting the current residence) is significant. As expected from the search behavior, being near friends and relatives is important to the Palm Springs respondents but not to those from Breezeswept. While the qualities of the immediate neighborhood and the house were important to both, they were more important in Breezeswept while price was slightly more important in Palm Springs. The variable which measures the second most important reason for selecting the residence is not significant.

Variables 11 and 12 categorize the primary and secondary reasons for selecting the general urban zone of the present residence. They result from the explanation of respondents who said they searched in only specific zones. Both are significant. More Palm Springs residents did not limit their search zones, but among those who did, there was a desire for tranquility but with considerable emphasis placed on adequate facilities (transportation, schools, etc.). Over 97% of the Breezeswept residents did restrict their search to the northeastern portion of greater Miami.

The avoidance of certain zones during residential search activities, variable 13, has highly significant results. A large majority of the Breezeswept sample avoided some zones because of their general poor quality or because these areas were too black or too Latin. It should be noted that 12% of the Breezeswept sample gave as a primary reason and 8% as a secondary reason the deliberate avoidance of Hispanic

neighborhoods. Most Palm Springs residents said they were not avoiding any zones. Variable 14, the second reason for such avoidance, is also highly significant. The Cramer's V for variable 13 shows the moderately strong relationship discovered. When variable 13 is controlled for occupation, response patterns are not changed.

The location of the last previous residence is measured by variable 15 and is highly significant with strong values for Cramer's V and lambda. While the largest proportion of both groups had lived in other Hispanic sections of urban Dade County just before moving to their present homes, one-third of Palm Springs residents moved from elsewhere in Hialeah while more than one-quarter of Breezeswept moved from outside of Florida. No Breezeswept respondent came directly from a foreign area, but 8.4% of the Palm Springs sample did.

The number of years spent at the last previous address is not significant due to a statistical need to highly compress the table. The original data did indicate that Palm Springs residents were more mobile. When controlled for occupation (white collar workers only), Breezeswept residents were considerably more stable. This is considered highly significant, and data contained in the variable is incorporated into the discriminant function in Chapter VI ranking seventh among thirteen variables.

Variable 17 (the reason residents moved from their previous home) is highly significant. Many of the Palm Springs population moved in order to purchase a home or obtain an improved residence. Breezeswept residents moved because of a change of job or to leave a neighborhood perceived as declining in quality. The latter includes areas that were experiencing a rise in black population.

Secondary hypothesis 4 states that the reasons for selecting their present home and neighborhood will vary significantly between Cuban American residents of the two neighborhoods. This hypothesis is accepted because of the significant levels of the chi square tests of variables 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 17. The different reasons given by residents of each neighborhood why they selected their home, chose or avoided certain urban zones, and why they moved from their last home distinguish the two population samples from each other and thus are correlated with the expansion or assimilation neighborhood type.

One of the most significant findings of this research is the importance of having resided elsewhere in the U.S.A. outside of South Florida's enclave before returning to Miami. It is especially pertinent to Cuban Americans because the U.S. government took an active role in resettling them outside of Florida. The results are highly significant with 65.3% of the Breezeswept sample having experienced such relocation while only 22.1% of the Palm Springs group had the same history. Both the phi and lambda values are high, and variable 18 is found in both discriminant functions in Chapter VI. Secondary hypothesis two is confirmed: Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood are more likely to have resided previously outside of Dade County than Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood. When variable 18 is controlled for occupation and education, the above findings are reinforced.

Because of the importance of this variable, an extra three-dimensional set of contingency tables was constructed. Of the 175 tables generated, only thirty were usable because of the low expected cell frequencies in the other 145 tables. Of these thirty, only

thirteen showed results different from the original tables not controlled for variable 18; that is, 57% indicate that factors other than the presence or absence of residential experience outside of Florida must account for neighborhood differences as demonstrated by variable response patterns. Four of the thirteen tables have a different result in their significance levels solely because of their small sample size; the proportionate frequencies reinforce the original tables. Three additional tables, dealing with the names of neighborhoods and the number of moves in Dade County, while actually differing in pattern do not present new trends for analysis. The remaining six tables do indicate that this particular type of residential history has influenced six specific response patterns for variables 3, 4, 35, 36, 37, and 49. Variable 3 (educational level) shows no differences by neighborhood if only respondents who lived just in Dade County are included. Respondents who lived outside of Dade have more education. The year of arrival in the U.S. shows no difference if only respondents who lived just in Dade County are included. Respondents who lived outside of Dade arrived earlier. The remaining four variables (35, 36, 37, and 49) are discussed under the subsections on behaviors, attitudes, and opinions later in this chapter.

Five remaining variables are concerned with the residential histories and opinions about residential locations. The nature of the residential histories within Dade County shows highly significant differences between neighborhoods. In Palm Springs, 75.8% of the residents lived only within Hispanic sectors of Dade County. In Breezeswept, 69.3% lived both within and outside of Hispanic sectors

of the county before moving to Breezeswept. Only 12% of the Breezeswept group never lived in any of Dade's Hispanic areas. Over half of the Breezeswept residents who moved directly to the neighborhood from outside the state, at one time, usually in the early sixties, lived in a Dade Hispanic neighborhood.

The number of moves within Dade County has no significance. This lack of significance remains when controlled for occupation and education. Variable 21 (name of your present neighborhood) is significant. More Palm Springs residents gave the correct response. More Breezeswept residents said there was no common name. This was not unexpected partly because the western edge of Breezeswept is unclear. As for Palm Springs, the junior high school as well as a large number of establishments around the neighborhood use this neighborhood name as a part of their establishment name (i.e., Palm Springs Market). Only the small Breezeswept Shopping Center has a sign with the neighborhood name visible. Some residents in each neighborhood simply gave the legal name of their city in place of a neighborhood name.

Although variable 22 records significant differences about why residents like their present neighborhood, both groups stated overwhelmingly that they like the peaceful setting. Some Breezeswept residents stressed specific items of the cultural landscape, visual items, while some Palm Springs residents specified characteristics of the population, human items.

The last variable in this subsection, variable 23 (opinion of the other neighborhood) did produce significantly different statistics. It does not, however, lend itself to clear evaluation. Most respondents

in both neighborhoods asked where the other neighborhood was located. When told central North Miami or northwest Hialeah, responses appeared to be directed at the entire city. To Palm Springs residents, North Miami is an area of concrete towers filled with condominiums. Palm Springs was identified almost entirely by the commercial areas along 103rd Street, although some Breezeswept residents called it a somewhat nicer area of Hialeah, not necessarily an overly positive perception.

These seventeen variables clearly define the nature of the residential histories and some of the related attitudes of the sample populations differentiating them by neighborhood. The strength of the differences demonstrated here is of special importance to geographers. Past and present experiences as well as perceptions of human interaction with the urban environment have been shown to be important elements in understanding and differentiating between neighborhood populations. Of special importance to this particular research is the fact that the first four of the secondary hypotheses have been accepted because of the results detailed here.

Activity Patterns and Behaviors

Results from the questionnaire were classified and subdivided to create sixteen variables for testing data on activity patterns and behaviors of Cuban Americans in the study neighborhoods. Eight of these variables (24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, and 34) include data on the use of and location of ethnically linked establishments. Six of the eight variables are significant. Five variables (30, 33, 35, 37,

and 38) cover data on language behaviors, and three of these are significant. The remaining three variables (43, 45, 48) measure knowledge of situations. It was felt that knowledge of reality is better combined with actual activities than with attitudes and opinions. Two of these three variables are significant.

The two variables concerned with diet, patronizing Hispanic markets and patronizing Hispanic restaurants, indicate no differences between the neighborhoods. Breezeswept residents regularly patronize such establishments. This is not an especially disappointing finding since one expects that dietary patterns will change far more slowly than many other patterns. Food preferences usually are deeply ingrained. Variable 29 (attending Spanish language films) does show a significant difference. While this does distinguish one neighborhood from the other, the residents of Palm Springs who do patronize such movies are only a small percent of the total population. They all attend the same theater very near the neighborhood. No Breezeswept residents go to such movies.

The use of Latin-oriented beauty salons, Spanish language church services, and Spanish-speaking medical doctors is incorporated into variables measuring location and language behaviors. These establishments were patronized regularly by persons from both neighborhoods. The cumulative effect of no significant differences in patterns of use except for the movies leads to the rejection of hypothesis 6. It is not true that more of the destinations of periodic journeys of Cuban Americans residing in the assimilation neighborhood will be to destinations lacking an ethnic component compared with the expansion neighborhood.

The location of Hispanic-oriented markets (25), beauty salons (26), restaurants (28), and doctors' offices (34) all reflect the same significant finding that these establishments are not located near Breezeswept but rather all are some distance from the neighborhood. Breezeswept residents generally travel outside of a two mile wide zone surrounding the neighborhood to patronize these outlets for goods and services. The absence of these outlets was described in Chapter IV containing the field observations of Breezeswept. The Arango market is an exception to this finding. While Breezeswept residents do patronize this local Latin market, they also shop in other Latin markets farther from their homes although not as frequently. White collar workers from Breezeswept especially are likely to do so.

Breezeswept residents also travel significantly farther to attend Spanish language church services. However, this result is somewhat deceiving. There are Spanish language services available at the Catholic church located near Breezeswept. It is only those Hispanics who are Protestants who must travel farther. In actuality, many Catholics choose to return to previous parishes rather than transfer to the local parish serving Breezeswept. The reason for this was not investigated.

These Breezeswept travel patterns sustain secondary hypothesis 7: More of the ethnically linked destinations of the periodic journeys of Cuban American residents of the assimilation neighborhood will be located outside their neighborhood and thus they will travel farther to those destinations than will the residents of the expansion neighborhood.

The five variables concerning language behaviors measure four different aspects of such behaviors. Variables 30 and 33 record the language spoken by priests or ministers during church services and by doctors during medical examinations. The language is the cultural link offered by these services which attracts both Palm Springs and Breezeswept residents alike. Both groups desire that the services be delivered in Spanish. The lack of significant difference between neighborhoods with regard to language use in church is maintained when this variable is controlled for occupation.

Variable 35 measures the respondent's self-evaluation of his or her ability to speak English. The finding is significant showing that, in general, Breezeswept residents feel they speak better English. When variable 35 is controlled for education, those with college degrees showed no significant statistical difference by neighborhood in their personal evaluations of their English capabilities. When variable 35 is controlled for residential experience outside of Florida, differences again disappear. While 10.5% of the original Palm Springs sample evaluated themselves as poor speakers of English, all of the Palm Springs residents who have had residential experience outside the state evaluated themselves as more fluent. The neighborhood differentiation based on English abilities comes from those residents who have less education and who have never resided outside of Dade County.

The actual amount of time each language is used in public situations (variable 38) is highly significant with a notable Cramer's V. It shows that more than twice as many Breezeswept residents speak English most of the time in public places. This difference is enhanced when controlled for

occupation and education. It is true also when variable is controlled for residential experience outside of Dade County. The specific responses of the Palm Springs group who lived outside of Florida are worth noting. Only 7% of respondents controlled for education and occupation used English as compared to the full sample, but 34% fewer controlled respondents used Spanish. The controlled group felt they spoke both languages about equally. A re-examination of the open-ended responses found comments about how they would try to use English locally but felt it more convenient and efficient to shift to Spanish.

More than 40% of the Breezeswept residents stated that they used Spanish more than English. This unexpected result could be explained in at least two ways. The strong preference of Breezeswept residents for Spanish may have biased their estimation of just how often they use Spanish in non-residential public places with employees of neighborhood establishments. Indeed this also might be an illustration of the pattern of the neighborhood accelerating the assimilation process that is the forced use of English.

There is a second possible explanation. The question upon which variable 37 is based does not clearly specify the location of the public places where the language is used with employees. It may be that the residents from the assimilation neighborhood do travel to the Hispanic sector frequently enough and for sufficiently different reasons to allow many of them to speak Spanish much of the time. These results are compounded by the different way in which respondents in the two neighborhoods answered. Breezeswept residents answered literally, trying to measure which of the two languages they used most in the

prescribed situations. Palm Springs residents more frequently vacillated and seemed unsure, giving answers that had to be classified as mixed language use.

The respondents' evaluation of the ability of employees in local establishments to speak Spanish (variable 38) is highly significant with large values of ϕ , λ , and the uncertainty coefficient. It is also one of the most powerful of the discriminating variables found in the final discriminant function. This pattern is retained when controlling for occupation and education. All Palm Springs residents stated that local establishments have Spanish-speaking personnel. Surprisingly, about one-third of the Breezeswept residents replied that at least one employee in many local establishments could speak Spanish. This may be an effort on the part of such establishments to better serve the Greater Miami area or they may have Hispanic employees in less visible positions (i.e., stock boy, etc.) who were missed during the field observations. Breezeswept respondents may have confused local establishments with establishments frequently visited outside of the neighborhood.

Both variables 37 and 38 do lend support to half of secondary hypothesis 8 in that, in spite of the preference for and continuing importance of Spanish, assimilation neighborhood residents are more likely to communicate in English. Language behaviors are among the most important factors studied which can be used to differentiate neighborhoods. However, Spanish language also binds all Cuban Americans to the larger Cuban American ethnic community.

Three variables (43, 45, 48) measure knowledge of situations relating to inter-ethnic conflict. Variable 43 (knowledge of problem areas with inter-ethnic conflict) shows a highly significant difference between neighborhoods. Almost twice as many Breezeswept respondents spoke about conflicts between Latins and non-Latins. This difference is enlarged when the variable is controlled for occupation but lost when controlled for education although frequency patterns remain similar. This points to the rejection of hypothesis 10 which states that the dwellers in assimilation neighborhoods are less aware of conflict between ethnic groups. The hypothesis was based on the contention that Cuban Americans aware of conflict would select residential locations where such ethnic conflicts are less likely to occur; that is, Hispanic neighborhoods providing a defense function. Perhaps Breezeswept residents at the time of residential selection had the same level of awareness as Palm Springs residents, but the awareness grew after moving to the new assimilation neighborhood. There is greater exposure to non-Latins in the new location. This is supported by Portes' work (1969).

Variable 45 (inter-ethnic problems in your neighborhood) is unimportant because 100% of both samples said there were no such problems. Variable 48 (whether or not respondents have experienced personal occasions of discrimination directed at themselves) offers highly significant results. The Breezeswept sample has more than double the number who have experienced such incidents. The results are mixed when controlled for education neither reinforcing nor negating the total sample results. These results, like those of variable 43, do not support hypothesis 10. Knowledge and experience with inter-ethnic problems

do differentiate the neighborhoods but not in the manner expected. However, both study neighborhoods remain tranquil.

Attitudes and Opinions Linked to Ethnicity

The remaining twenty variables cover a variety of attitudes and opinions relating to ethnicity. Thirteen of these variables (36, 39, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59) concern attitudes and opinions directly. Only four of these thirteen variables significantly differentiate between neighborhoods. Seven of the twenty variables (32, 40, 42, 50, 52, 54, 57) concern reasoning behind the attitudes and opinions offered. Of these seven variables, five provide significant differences between the two study neighborhoods.

Respondents who knew of problems between Latins and non-Latins were asked why they thought these problems occurred. Their responses make up variable 44. It is highly significant for the entire sample and also when controlled for education. Breezeswept respondents speculated that ignorance of cultural differences causes problems, while Palm Springs respondents suggested that prejudice and envy of Cuban American success are the causes. The more benign view of causes of inter-ethnic conflict weakens rejection of hypothesis 10 because that hypothesis states, in part, that assimilation neighborhoods will feel that inter-ethnic problems are less serious and less important. The fact that residents of the assimilation neighborhood accept ignorance as an excuse for ethnic hostility would appear to indicate that they are less likely to personalize this conflict than residents in the expansion neighborhood. They attribute conflict to the ignorance of the Anglo population.

Variable 47 addresses reasons why residents of both neighborhoods think no inter-ethnic problems have occurred in their own neighborhood. The results differentiating the two neighborhoods are highly significant with notable levels of Cramer's V, lambda, and the uncertainty coefficient. It is moderately explanatory within the discriminant function found in Chapter VI. The results remain the same when controlled for occupation. Breezeswept residents felt there were too few Latins in their neighborhood to provoke problems, and those present do not mix a great deal with the non-Latins. Palm Springs residents felt their neighborhood was too Latin to provoke problems and the non-Latins who remain are basically good people.

Variable 49 separates residents who feel it is important for persons with the same ethnicity to live together from those who do not. It is highly significant and remains so when controlled for occupation and education. The results are surprising. Only 21% of the Palm Springs residents support ethnic neighborhoods although they live in one. Almost 50% of the Breezeswept residents think it is important even though they chose not to do so. The difference between the neighborhoods is greatly accounted for by those persons who previously lived elsewhere in the U.S., and this observation was discovered by controlling for variable 18. These persons support ethnic neighborhoods while those without such experience do not. These are the people who returned from elsewhere to now experience the impact of the ethnic enclave beyond any given neighborhood. Breezeswept residents appreciate the goods and services available in such neighborhoods which are lacking in their own. On the other hand, most Palm Springs residents do

not want to feel they are confined to ethnic residential areas but rather live there by choice. Indeed, the earliest Cuban American residents who moved to Palm Springs did so when it was outside the Hispanic sector.

The last direct opinion which successfully differentiates between the two neighborhoods is variable 55 (how should Cuban American children learn good Spanish and their own ethnic history). Breezeswept respondents were more likely to stress the role of institutional education while Palm Springs residents placed three times as much emphasis on the role of the family in such education.

Language preference is not significant for both populations. Over half of both groups preferred to speak Spanish on public occasions. No change occurred when this variable was controlled for occupation. However, there was a significant difference when controlled for college level education. Residents of the assimilation neighborhood with a college degree were more eager to speak English than residents of the expansion neighborhood with the same degree. Nevertheless, Palm Springs residents who lived outside Florida had a three times higher preference for English than did the entire Palm Springs sample. Language preference as opposed to actual language used is far more influenced by past experience in residential location as well as advanced education. Both factors relate to situations where a good command of English is very useful.

Bilingualism for Dade County is supported by both neighborhoods as is the requirement for employees who interact with the general public to speak adequate English. Both neighborhoods support the use

of English and Spanish languages and the development of bilingual individuals. These results require the rejection of the hypothesis that states fewer Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will hold attitudes favoring the greater use of Spanish throughout the region than will Cuban American residents in the expansion neighborhood.

Variable 46 has no meaning. It asks about the causes of inter-ethnic problems in the study areas but no such problems were identified. Variables 51 and 53 record the overwhelming degree of support from both neighborhoods for Cuban American children to learn good Spanish and Cuban or ethnic history. One cannot differentiate the neighborhoods based on these two variables. Low cell frequencies in the contingency table for variable 51 do not allow for significance testing, but the frequency distributions support a rejection of hypothesis 13 (fewer Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will communicate concern over the education of young Cuban Americans in the Spanish language and their own ethnic history than will the Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood).

Variable 56 is the only variable that directly tests the degree to which Cuban Americans support primary interaction with non-Hispanics. In effect, it records whether or not Latin parents object to their teenage children dating non-Latins on a regular basis. There is no significant difference by neighborhood; both support this kind of dating. These results require rejection of hypothesis 12 (more Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will hold attitudes favoring primary

patterns of interaction between Hispanics and non-Hispanics than will Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood).

Neither variable 58 nor 59 (support of bloc voting and of ethnic neighborhoods to develop bloc voting) provides any significant results. Very few residents in either neighborhood supported bloc voting. This suggests the partial rejection of hypothesis 11 (fewer Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will manifest attitudes favoring the development and maintenance of ethnic residential areas for group support, cultural reinforcement, and political action than will Cuban American residents in the expansion neighborhood).

Hypothesis 14 anticipated the situation in which residents of both neighborhoods would express similar feelings and attitudes about issues related to their ethnicity. It states that when Cuban American residents of both neighborhoods communicate similar attitudes and opinions on ethnic issues, the reasons behind these attitudes and opinions will differ significantly by neighborhood. This hypothesis is sustained by five of the remaining seven variables. All five reveal significant differences between the two neighborhoods in the ways in which their residents explain the origin of their opinions.

As shown in variable 40 (why there should be official bilingualism in Dade County) Palm Springs residents describe the many Latins throughout the county who cannot or do not wish to function in English. Breezeswept residents perceive bilingual processes as inherently fairer but also stress their usefulness in enhancing business links with Latin America. In like manner, variable 42 (why employees should have to speak adequate English) elicits two significantly different responses.

Palm Springs residents took the point of view of a local business owner who could enhance his business with some flexibility in the language skills of his employees. Breezeswept residents took the customers' point of view saying that fairness to non-Hispanic necessitated speaking English.

Why do Breezeswept residents feel that ethnic neighborhoods are more important than do Palm Springs residents? Variable 50 measures the answers revealing significantly different reasons. Breezeswept residents enumerated the functions such neighborhoods provide: unity, intra-group mutual aid, and cultural reinforcement. Palm Springs residents were more concerned with the freedom to live where one wants. The Palm Springs residents in favor of such neighborhoods mentioned the avoidance of inter-ethnic problems as a reason while the Breezeswept residents opposing ethnic neighborhoods felt that a harmony of socio-economic status should be the key to selecting a neighborhood rather than ethnicity.

Variable 54 (why children should learn their ethnic history) separates the more abstract reasoning of Breezeswept residents who stress a well rounded education from the more concrete even tangible emotions of Palm Springs residents who speak of maintaining their roots. Variable 57 (why do you favor inter-ethnic dating patterns for young Cuban Americans) is significantly different for the entire samples and when controlled for occupation. Palm Springs residents articulated again the need for freedom of choice and the belief that all people are of equal quality. Breezeswept residents noted that cultural ignorance could only be eliminated by these kinds of interaction, and, anyway,

socioeconomic status is a more important criterion to use in developing personal associations.

The two variables that fail to support hypothesis 14 are variable 52 (why young Cuban Americans should learn good Spanish) and variable 32 (why it is important for the priest or minister to speak Spanish). Both groups believe that teaching Spanish to their children is the surest way to maintain their cultural identity. Both feel that religious leaders should speak Spanish so all members of a congregation can follow the service. If the nearly one-third of each sample who do not regularly attend church are removed from the analysis, differences between the neighborhoods can be extracted. Breezeswept residents put more emphasis on the beauty of the service and the deeper religious emotions evoked by a Spanish presentation.

The fifty-nine variables in this subset allowed for accepting seven of the fourteen secondary hypotheses and rejecting the remaining seven although results from two hypotheses are inconclusive. Both acceptance and rejection help define the way in which the neighborhood models function as well as develop a relatively detailed portrait of each specific neighborhood.

Neighborhood Profiles

Crosstabulation analysis of independent variables has led to development of different profiles for each neighborhood. Breezeswept is composed of household heads who arrived sooner and obtained more education and higher status employment, although these socioeconomic

differences do not appear to invalidate findings based on other responses. They have lived in their neighborhood for a shorter period of time and have resided formerly both in Hispanic sectors of Dade County and outside the county. They found their homes by formal means and were quite selective in their search behavior deliberately avoiding Hispanic neighborhoods. They moved because of a change in jobs or to avoid a growing black population in older neighborhoods. They continue to desire Latin foods, restaurants, beauty salons, and want Spanish language religious services and Spanish speaking doctors. They will travel considerable distances to fulfill these wants. However, they have given up Spanish language movies. They speak English well, use it frequently, especially in their own neighborhoods where so few speak Spanish, and support the hiring of employees who can function in English. Nevertheless, they want Dade County to be bilingual and they still prefer to speak Spanish. They believe the wider use of Spanish will aid Dade County's commercial relationships; they feel English only is unfair and bilingualism enhances personal development. They are aware of inter-ethnic problems but feel the major cause is ignorance. They have experienced personal discrimination but favor more inter-ethnic primary contacts. They are aware that the low levels of Hispanics in their neighborhood may account for some of the tranquility there. They are glad Hispanic neighborhoods exist and see them as a source of unity and support. They want their children to learn Spanish and Cuban history preferably in the schools. They want their children to remain within their ethnic group while being educated in the ways of the majority. They reject block voting and its political implications.

They are happy with their neighborhood, but if they are moving along the assimilation continuum it is only partially due to their neighborhood selection and it is at their own guarded pace.

Palm Springs residents have a different profile. They arrived in the United States more recently, have less education and lower status occupations. They have lived in their neighborhood for longer periods of time and have residential histories largely confined to the Hispanic sectors of Dade County. They found their homes through informal means and were not highly selective in the spatial aspects of their search behavior. They moved in order to stop renting by purchasing their own home or to obtain a better home. They patronize the local Hispanic establishments offering Latin groceries, restaurant food, hair styling, Spanish religious services, and medical care from Spanish speaking health providers. While most speak adequate English, they prefer Spanish and usually have the opportunity to function publicly in Spanish. They want Dade County to be bilingual because so many of the residents need to use Spanish. Nevertheless, they feel that employees working in public establishments should function adequately in English. This is not only because it is fair but also because it is good business. They are less aware of inter-ethnic problems outside their own neighborhood and seem to have experienced less personal discrimination. Certainly they appear to have less contact with non-Hispanics. However, residents aware of problems take the less benign position that such problems are caused by prejudice and envy. They see the tranquility of their own neighborhood resulting from the Hispanic majority present, the good nature of the people, and a bit of good luck. They

often mention the need for cultural reinforcement, want their children educated in Spanish and Cuban history, and are willing to take on a family responsibility for such educational tasks. In spite of these attitudes, they favor inter-ethnic dating and do not support the concept of ethnic separation by neighborhood. Equality and freedom of choice dominate their reasoning on these issues. Even though they are beginning to develop local Cuban American political leaders, they reject block voting as another impediment to individual freedom of choice. While they have adapted in many ways to their new country, they are less assimilated than their Breezeswept counterparts.

It is very useful to examine many individual independent variables to test specific hypotheses and to develop detailed profiles of the study areas. However, to test the overall general hypothesis, it is necessary to use a different technique which is able to consider the impact of all the independent variables simultaneously and use their combined power to differentiate the dependent variables. Such an examination of the collective impact of the variables is presented in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI DIFFERENTIATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS USING DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

The general hypothesis of the research that there is a correlation between the type of neighborhood in which Cuban Americans reside and their living patterns is sustained by the results of the discriminant analysis. Thirteen of the fifty-nine available variables were discovered to have sufficient discriminating power to construct a function that can successfully differentiate the two study neighborhoods based on elements of the living patterns of the residents. All aspects of the living patterns identified in the hypothesis (residential history, activity patterns, behaviors, and attitudes relating to ethnicity) are included in the thirteen variables selected. In discriminant analysis, the variables are utilized to force the neighborhoods to be as statistically distinct as possible. The resultant weighting coefficients identify which specific variables contribute the most to separating Breezeswept from Palm Springs.

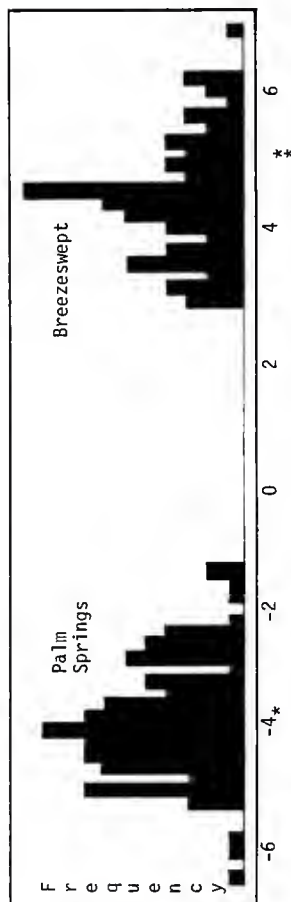
Preliminary Findings

The entire set of fifty-nine independent variables was used in the first processing of the discriminant equations. Thirty-one of these variables proved useful in formulating the single canonical

discriminant function. The function provided complete separation of the two dependent variables, the neighborhoods. There was optimum separation of all cases by group. Full results of the discriminant analysis are found in Appendix G. Figure 13 is a histogram showing this case separation by neighborhood. The histogram demonstrates this complete separation and illustrates the internal consistency within each group since there is not much dispersion but rather two distinct, cohesive clusters appear.

Results indicate that sufficient information is available from the questionnaire to totally separate and distinguish the two neighborhoods from each other. Residents of Breezeswept do have different life patterns and viewpoints from residents of Palm Springs. Formulation of such a highly successful function predicts that if additional data were gathered from new respondents in both neighborhoods, the function could separate effectively these new respondents into their correct neighborhoods almost one hundred percent of the time since the canonical correlation level is .975, and the significance of the chi square test is at the .0000 level.

The partial multivariate F ratios found in Table 104 in Appendix G measure the discrimination introduced by each variable after accounting for the previous discrimination achieved by variables already included. If the F ratio is too small, the variable is not selected. After a new variable is added, the F ratios of all previously selected variables are re-examined, and those with sufficiently lowered values are removed. The default values used in this research are set to retain all variables with even slight discriminatory power.



Each numeral (1 or 2) represents a case value of the discriminant function.

1 represents Breezeswept with a group centroid value of 4.88*

2 represents Palm Springs with a group centroid value of -3.85*

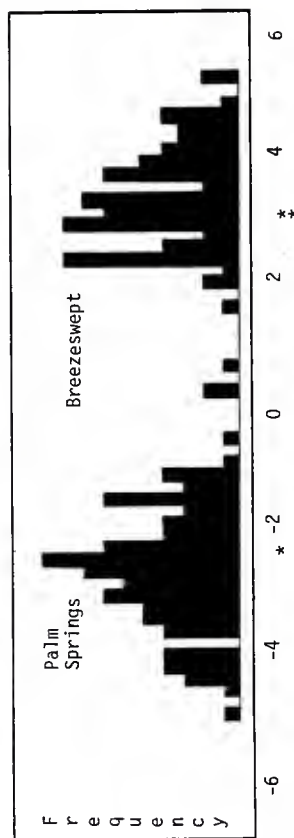
Figure 13. Two Neighborhood Histogram for the First Function

The large spread between the two clusters of cases shown in Figure 13 illustrates the great strength of the combined discriminating power of all thirty-one variables.

Table 105 in Appendix G gives the weighting coefficients for all of the variables. Only thirteen of these variables have weighing values of .40 or larger. This corresponds to an "F to remove ratio" of ten or more (which is higher than the program default value). Thus, many of the thirty-one variables add only very small amounts of additional discriminatory power. Because of the certainty of multicollinearity and the difficulty of giving substantial meaning to thirty-one different elements, the discriminant analysis was processed again using only the thirteen variables with an "F to remove ratio" of ten or larger. This elimination of eighteen variables caused the canonical correlation to drop by .03 to .945 while retaining a chi square significance level of .0000.

Final Results

The second processing of the discriminant analysis produced a new histogram illustrated in Figure 14. The two neighborhood groups remain distinct but the distance separating the borderline cases has disappeared. The distance between the group centroids has been reduced from 8.73 to 5.77. The internal spread within each group (.20) has enlarged only slightly. The first function derived would be acceptable if the only goal of the discriminant function were to give great dependability in classifying new cases. However, the aim of



Each numeral (1 or 2) represents a case value of the discriminant function
 1 represents Breezeswept with a group centroid value of 3.22*
 2 represents Palm Springs with a group centroid value of -2.54*

Figure 14. Two Neighborhood Histogram for the Second Function

this research is to understand the differences between the neighborhoods. For this purpose, the second discriminant function and its corresponding coefficients are more useful and are presented in Table 6.

The variable rankings found in the table can be examined to assess the importance of each variable. Variable 28 (the location of Latin restaurants relative to each neighborhood) is ranked first. This result means that Breezeswept and Palm Springs are most clearly differentiated by the expenditure of time and money to travel significant distances to patronize ethnically linked outlets. When variable 28 is taken together with the variable ranked fourth (variable 27, patronizing Latin restaurants) and the variable ranked ninth (29, patronizing Spanish language films), the composite activity patterns of the neighborhoods are seen to differ. As expected, residents of the expansion neighborhood patronize ethnically linked outlets more frequently and residents of the assimilation neighborhood must travel farther when they want to patronize these outlets. However, the crosstabulation results examined in Chapter V indicated that both neighborhoods have a strong demand for ethnically linked goods and services; so it is the travel patterns that are most significant. The lower demand for Latin restaurant meals can be interpreted several ways. The friction of distance may be sufficient to discourage some residents from patronizing these restaurants frequently, or some assimilation in tastes may be occurring. The latter is unlikely since Breezeswept residents continue to regularly patronize Latin grocery stores. On the other hand, the absence of demand for Spanish language movies among Breezeswept residents would appear to be both a decrease

Table 6. The Second Discriminant Function Weighting Coefficients

Variable Number	Variable Name	Coefficient Value	Rank
7	years in present house	-.483	6
8	how learned of house	-.630	3
16	years in last house	+.441	7
18	lived outside of Dade County	+.393	10
27	patronize Latin restaurants	-.540	4
28	location of Latin restaurants	+1.021	1
29	patronize Spanish language films	-.409	9
37	language actually spoken by respondent	-.123	13
38	language local employees speak	+.701	2
40	why Dade should be bilingual	+.221	11
44	cause of interethnic problems	-.131	12
47	why no problems in your neighborhood	-.517	5
49	should ethnics live together--reason	-.437	8

in demand, perhaps due to some acculturation, as well as the effort needed to travel to the appropriate theaters. The relative isolation of Breezeswept residents from ethnic outlets may over time erode some of the demand for the goods and services provided by such outlets and thus hasten acculturation. There is another possibility. Hispanics are newcomers to Breezeswept, and there is a delay before Latin restaurants and other ethnic outlets with thresholds higher than grocery stores begin to appear. This cannot be determined at the present.

Variable 38 (language employees normally speak in local retail outlets) is the second ranking variable in Table 6. Use of Spanish language is an important element in the acculturation process. The fact that Breezeswept residents are forced to use English in local retail outlets while Palm Springs residents are not weighs heavily in distinguishing between the characters of each neighborhood. Field investigations of the neighborhoods described in Chapter IV already had revealed that variable 38 confirms the fact that Spanish dominates public outlets in Palm Springs and is nearly absent in Breezeswept. Variable 37 (language actually spoken by the respondents in public places) follows from the language options available. One must speak English in Breezeswept but not in Palm Springs. Variable 37 ranks last because the differences in the respondents' language patterns are not as great as their neighborhoods would dictate. As shown above by the first ranked variable, Breezeswept residents travel away from their neighborhoods to patronize outlets where Spanish is spoken. Their actual public language patterns then are mixed because of the greater variety in locations of the outlets they patronize.

Variable 40 (why Dade County should be bilingual) while ranking only eleventh of thirteen also concerns the Spanish language. However, it is an opinion question rather than a measurement of actual occurrences. While residents of both neighborhoods felt that Dade County should be officially bilingual, they varied on the reasons behind their answers. Unlike the Palm Springs residents, Breezeswept residents relied less on the immediate practical response that there are so many Spanish speakers in the region that bilingualism is justified. Rather they stressed the principles of equity and potential international business connections and not personal convenience. Since Breezeswept respondents' own preference is for Spanish, this more detached reasoning might reflect a desire to be perceived as less parochial.

Variables measuring differences in residential histories are ranked third, sixth, seventh, and tenth indicating that the residential histories carry weight in distinguishing the two populations from each other. Most important among these is variable 8 (the way in which the respondents learned about their present homes). The assimilation neighborhood residents relied on formal and impersonal methods while the expansion neighborhood residents depended on ethnic ties. Variables 7 and 16 (years resided in present and in last house) have less clear explanatory impact. The fact that Breezeswept residents have lived in their neighborhood for a shorter period of time might suggest any number of potential situations. Is the area in the first stage of a process of Hispanization? Has the residential time period there

been too short for the respondents to have broken ties to outlets in former neighborhoods or too short for new ethnically oriented outlets to have opened near Breezeswept? The former, breaking ties, would result from the slow, steady influence of the form of the new neighborhood on existing activity patterns; the latter would produce a slow influence of active patterns on neighborhood form. The isolation of Breezeswept and its non-Hispanic character may bring about the decline in patronizing ethnic outlets by its Hispanic residents, or the new demands generated by these residents may induce entrepreneurs to open new ethnically linked outlets nearby.

The recent movement of Hispanics into Breezeswept simply might reflect a growing trend of Cuban Americans to return to the Miami area with returnees more likely to settle in assimilation type neighborhoods. Variable 18 (experience residing outside of Dade County) suggests that exposure to the broader American spectrum speeds acculturation and integration thus making reliance on ethnic ties less necessary and the appeal of the assimilation neighborhood greater. This could be as simple as having a greater exposure to English. The neighborhood form, character, and activities experienced elsewhere in the United States by resettled Cuban Americans may have affected their assimilation process predisposing them, upon their return to greater Miami, to a different kind of residential search behavior and a different final selection of neighborhood.

Variable 16 (years resided in last home before moving to the present location) indicates that Palm Springs residents have been more mobile. The only unsupported speculation which can be drawn out

of this fact is that residents within the Hispanic sectors of Dade County include a higher proportion of renters. The desire for home ownership was a major motivation for moving into Palm Springs as discussed in Chapter V. On the other hand, the past stability of current Breezeswept residents may have resulted from the nature of their residential experiences elsewhere in the United States.

Fifth ranking variable 47 (why there are no inter-ethnic problems in your neighborhood is another opinion response. Along with variable 44 the cause of inter-ethnic problems and variable 49 (reasons why ethnics should or should not live together in one area), attitudes about ethnicity are shown to differentiate the two neighborhoods. Of particular interest is what Cuban Americans in each neighborhood think regulates the quality of their relationships with non-Hispanics. Palm Springs residents have very positive views about the non-Hispanics in their neighborhood but feel that Anglos generally are prejudiced and act in discriminatory ways. Breezeswept residents avoid conflict by limiting primary interaction but view any potential conflict as a result of misunderstanding and an ignorance on the part of non-Hispanics about Cuban culture. The Breezeswept view supports the contention that moving to a new neighborhood and attitudinal change precede the final stages of assimilation revolving around primary integration. If such primary contacts do not increase over time, the ongoing assimilation of Breezeswept Cuban Americans will be delayed or arrested as Gordon (1964) described. For the purpose of the discriminant analysis, the function of these three variables is that they classify the different attitudes held by the residents of each neighborhood in a way

that aids in the total differentiation of the two neighborhoods, one from the other.

The results of the discriminant analysis partially confirm the general hypothesis of the research; there is a correlation between the type of neighborhood in which Cuban Americans reside and their living patterns. The final variables included in the second canonical discriminant function represent all of the aspects of the living patterns present in the overall hypothesis: activity patterns, language behaviors, residential histories, and attitudes relating to ethnicity. All four of these aspects are found among the top five ranked coefficients, and thus all four aspects are of importance.

CHAPTER VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One's neighborhood remains important even with the mobility most Americans experience in the 1980s. It influences activity patterns and reinforces attitudes and identities. It complements or clashes with family living patterns. For homeowners, the neighborhood is the site of their major material, economic, and psychological investment. As the impact of Dade's Cuban American population expands and deepens, it is of interest to academics, urban planners, and potential new neighbors to understand how the form and function of neighborhoods are linked to the attitudes and activities of this relatively new ethnic group.

As Cuban Americans in urban Dade County expand their residential living space because of new household formation and because of improvements in economic status, will they duplicate the ethnic residential core of their early experience in central Miami, or will they disperse throughout the urban area bringing only traces of their culture with them? Since both trends have appeared, it has been the aim of this research to understand why and how different Cuban American households interact with different kinds of neighborhoods. To give direction to such an investigation, an overall hypothesis and fourteen secondary hypotheses were proposed. Two representative neighborhoods were

selected, each with an increasing Cuban American population: one within a Hispanic sector where some duplication of the form and function of the earlier ethnic core can be seen; the other outside the Hispanic sectors representing the neighborhood pattern of the non-Latin white majority of the Miami urbanized area. Data were gathered through field observation. Structured interviews with random samples of these Cuban American residents were carried out. The data were classified and analyzed and the results used to test each of the hypotheses.

General agreement exists among field observations, the frequency response patterns in many of the contingency tables and the results of the discriminant analysis. There are clear and significant differences between the two neighborhoods investigated and these differences correlate with different characteristics of the Cuban Americans who elected to reside in each neighborhood. The overall hypothesis has been partially sustained and is supported by the successful formulation of the discriminant function composed of variables measuring all four distinguishing aspects. While some of the activity patterns, behaviors, and attitudes do vary sufficiently and significantly enough to differentiate the expansion neighborhood from the assimilation neighborhood, these differences were not as great as anticipated when the research design was formulated. Several of the secondary hypotheses not only were rejected but often supported an opposite conclusion. Not only does a strong sense of ethnic identity remain with the Cuban American residents of the assimilation neighborhood, but this

identity continues to influence their behaviors, travel destinations, and attitudes.

Hypotheses Concerning Residential History

All four secondary hypotheses concerning the residential histories of the study groups are sustained. The two neighborhoods are most sharply differentiated by the residential histories of their Cuban American residents as compared to the other subsets of secondary hypotheses. Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood are more likely to have resided outside of Dade County than Cuban Americans in the expansion neighborhood. The strong significant differences found within this factor make this an important result of the research. This prior residence apparently led them to seek out neighborhoods in Dade County less markedly Cuban American even after relocation. Thus, prior residence influences the choice of subsequent neighborhoods. Capability in English indicates that Breezeswept residents with greater residential experience outside of Dade County have gained a language flexibility that has resulted in a diminishing of their public use of Spanish, a step along the assimilation continuum. However, Palm Springs residents with similar residential experience outside of Dade County show equivalent language ability, and a large majority of these persons stated that they prefer to use English rather than Spanish in Public situations. This finding underlines the importance of a residential experience outside the

ethnic core elsewhere in the United States in accelerating the assimilation process. This experience does not determine but does influence the selection of residential neighborhood upon returning to the Miami area.

Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood have relied more heavily on formal sources to find their new homes. The information found in the crosstabulation analysis clearly confirms this hypothesis. Of particular interest is not the frequent use of realtors and newspapers by Breezeswept residents but rather the self-directed searching of Palm Springs residents who drove through familiar areas looking for sale signs. While these same Palm Springs residents stated that they were not restricting their home search to particular zones, their methods for search effectively did that anyway.

A longer time of residence in this country for assimilation neighborhood residents and differing reasons for selecting the neighborhood are both accepted. The earlier arrival date of Breezeswept heads of households may mean that longer exposure to the United States culture has increased the level of assimilation. This is as anticipated but many Palm Springs residents have been in the United States for over fifteen years. The results may mean that earlier residents were more likely to relocate outside of Dade County, and it was this relocation, as well as the absolute time factor, that stimulated the assimilation process as seen in the acceptance of the hypothesis.

Some reservations remain about the importance of the confirmation of different reasons for selecting a neighborhood. Some patterns

of responses although statistically different are not that dissimilar in content. The more specific responses from Breezeswept residents may have been prompted by the large number who dealt with real estate agents and thus were forced to articulate their specific locational goals. This verbalizing could have reinforced their detailed memories of the search behavior, and relocation was a part of a more recent experience for most of the Breezeswept group. Only the reason for the last move showed two very different patterns of response and was highly significant. This hypothesis is accepted because of the cumulative effect on six different variables.

Hypotheses Concerning Activity Patterns and Behaviors

Breezeswept and Palm Springs are only partially differentiated by the activity patterns and behaviors of their Cuban American residents. Two hypotheses are strongly sustained, one is rejected, and one yields conflicting results. The fact that fewer outlets for goods and services in and around the assimilation neighborhood have ethnic components is strongly sustained is not surprising. It simply reinforces the assimilation neighborhood model. It does not add to greater understanding. The hypothesis was immediately confirmed by field observation. Only market and Catholic church services pertaining to Breezeswept showed ethnic links while virtually all outlets around Palm Springs did so. The very way in which the neighborhoods were selected almost ensured this finding. Nevertheless, it was necessary to test for these results. Theoretically, the recentness of a Latin

population majority in the Palm Springs area might have meant fewer such outlets than were actually found. In reality, the agglomeration of retail outlets near Palm Springs serves a far larger and more Latin area than the neighborhood under study. On the other hand, it was suggested that no area of urbanized Miami has escaped the rapid diffusion of new Latin businesses and professional services. This suspicion has been disproved partially by the present character of the outlets of goods and services near Breezeswept. However, it should be noted that there is a strong demand for ethnically linked goods and services among the Hispanic residents of Breezeswept, and the success of the one Latin grocery store there may indicate that some similar penetration of ethnically oriented businesses will take place wherever moderate numbers of Hispanic residents can be found. For the present research, this reassuringly confirms the expected.

Hypothesis 7 is of very special interest to geographers because it deals with the friction of distance and the willingness of persons to expend the effort to overcome it. This hypothesis states that more of the ethnically linked destinations of the periodic journeys of Cuban American residents of the assimilation neighborhood will be located outside their neighborhood, and thus they will travel farther to those destinations than will residents of the expansion neighborhood. Several variables all give strong evidence of the importance of these regular and frequent journeys of Breezeswept residents past non-ethnically linked local outlets, traveling over some distance, to a Hispanic sector where the specifically desired goods and services are available. The distance which has isolated Breezeswept residents

from the congestion and lack of tranquility they perceive in the rejected Hispanic residential sectors is the distance which forms a barrier to be overcome to reach the desired commercial sector in these same neighborhoods.

These journeys of Breezeswept Hispanic residents are not only relatively long in distance and travel time, they are also relatively frequent. This has led to rejection of the hypothesis, more of the destinations of all periodic journeys of the assimilation neighborhood will be to destinations lacking in ethnic components. Not anticipated was the degree to which the Breezeswept group regularly patronized businesses with ethnic elements concerning groceries, meals, hair care, and religious and medical services provided in Spanish. Five variables showed no significant differences in the usage patterns by neighborhood.

One other hypothesis is grouped with the preceding hypotheses as a test of the language behavior patterns of the study respondents. It does address the likelihood of the respondents to speak English as measured by their current usage in public places. However, in an attempt to compress the hypotheses and still cover the many pertinent facets of location, ethnicity, and assimilation, the likelihood to speak English was combined with the willingness to speak English. It was felt that those persons more willing to speak English would be the same persons who actually do use English more frequently. The willingness to speak English is not a behavior but an attitude, an element more suitable to the following subset of hypotheses. Thus the hypothesis attempts to test a behavior and an attitude at the same time: Cuban Americans residing in the assimilation neighborhood will

be more willing and more likely to interact in English than will those in the expansion neighborhood. The results are mixed. Two variables indicate that the Breezeswept respondents do use English more frequently, but a third shows that they are not more willing. Their preference like that of most Palm Springs residents is to use Spanish. The behavioral portion of the hypothesis is confirmed. This allows for the more comprehensive conclusion that the type of neighborhood, expansion or assimilation, influences the activity and behavior patterns of its ethnic residents. Several of the hypotheses support this conclusion.

Hypotheses Concerning Attitudes and Opinions Relating to Ethnicity

The literature addressing assimilation suggests that one of the earliest steps in the process is acculturation or a mental reorientation of values and norms. It could be expected that ethnic persons, who already have been separated from the larger ethnic community by the character of their neighborhood, their residential histories, and their activity patterns and behaviors, would already have experienced significant acculturation. This acculturation could be gauged by identifying various attitudes and opinions relating to their ethnicity. Six hypotheses were formulated for that purpose. Five of these six hypotheses must be rejected. The residents of the assimilation neighborhood have unexpectedly strong attitudes and opinions supporting their ethnicity. On the other hand, residents of the expansion neighborhood have attitudes and opinions more open to inter-ethnic interaction than anticipated.

The hypothesis, fewer Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will hold attitudes favoring the greater use of the Spanish language throughout the region, is disputed by the high percentage of the Breezeswept group who favor bilingualism for Dade County. Palm Springs residents, just like those of Breezeswept, want all employees who work with the general public to be bilingual rather than Spanish-only speakers even within the Hispanic sectors of the urban area. This bilingual approach with its flexibility and choice unites the two neighborhoods. All the families regardless of neighborhood want their children to be educated in the language and history of their culture to preserve and extend bilingualism and biculturalism. This finding then requires the rejection of the hypothesis, fewer Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will communicate concern over the education of young Cuban Americans in Spanish and Cuban history.

The desire for flexibility and choice also appears to underlie the rejection of the initial statement, more Cuban American residents in the assimilation neighborhood will hold attitudes favoring primary patterns of interaction among Hispanics and non-Hispanics. This hypothesis was tested by examining a variable concerning dating patterns of Cuban American teenagers. The surprising results were that so few Palm Springs residents objected to their children's frequent dating involvement with non-Hispanic, indicating once again no attitudinal differences between the neighborhoods.

The rejection of another hypothesis is most unusual because the testing produced results directly opposite of those expected. The hypothesis states that fewer Cuban Americans in the assimilation

neighborhood will favor the development and maintenance of ethnic residential areas. However, the reverse occurred with Breezeswept residents more interested in the maintenance of these areas than were Palm Springs residents, although only a minority of both groups supported such neighborhoods. Freedom of location and movement seems to take precedence over other motives for the majority of respondents from both neighborhoods. Breezeswept residents also seemed more aware of and sensitive to the ways in which such ethnic neighborhoods serve them. The time and effort needed to regularly travel from Breezeswept to the Hispanic sectors would highlight the desirability of such areas. Another possible reason for such support from the Breezeswept respondents, but not one directly verbalized by them, is the greater amount of discrimination they experience. Palm Springs residents are more likely to take the situation for granted.

One hypothesis inadvertently combined two aspects of discrimination: the awareness of discrimination practiced against Cuban Americans with the perceived importance of such discriminatory practices. The hypothesis states that Cuban Americans in the assimilation neighborhood will express knowledge and opinions denoting less awareness of discrimination and will place less importance on discrimination against Hispanics. Breezeswept residents are more aware of discrimination. They know of more areas where there are inter-ethnic problems than do Palm Springs residents. They have experienced personally more discrimination than have Palm Springs residents. Apparently the ethnicity of the expansion neighborhood has buffered its residents from some inter-ethnic hostilities. While these results mean that the hypothesis

should be rejected, some confusion remains. In spite of their knowledge and experiences, Breezeswept residents offer a more benign explanation for this discrimination: ignorance on the part of non-Hispanics of Latin culture. Palm Springs residents blame prejudice on the part of non-Hispanics for the discrimination that occurs. One could argue that the assimilation residents do not feel that discrimination based on ignorance is as serious or important as discrimination based on prejudice. In any case, a greater experience with discrimination has not led to greater bitterness. These different perceptions of the causes of discrimination create inconclusive results.

The last of the secondary hypotheses is the only hypothesis dealing with attitudes and opinions that is strongly sustained. When Cuban American residents of both neighborhoods communicate similar attitudes and opinions on ethnic issues, the reasons behind these attitudes and opinions will differ significantly by neighborhood. Nine different significant variables all provide test results to show that the reasoning developed to explain attitudes and opinions held by Cuban Americans varied considerably by neighborhood. The residents of each neighborhood see themselves and their place in society somewhat differently. They want Dade to be bilingual and they want all employees to speak acceptable English for different reasons. The reasons differ concerning why they want their children to retain their ethnicity but be free to date

inter-ethnically. It is not clear if such differences in reasoning are responses to the form and function of the neighborhood or another step along the assimilation continuum. It is clear that these alternative explanations for attitudes and opinions can be used to distinguish the residents of one neighborhood from the other.

Other Analysis Results

Not directly involved with any of the secondary hypotheses are the results of two variables which are similar and important enough to be repeated here. Very few of the residents of the expansion neighborhood have ever lived outside the Hispanic sectors of Dade County. Most of the residents of the assimilation neighborhood have lived both within and outside the Hispanic sectors of Dade before moving to their present addresses. These patterns duplicate the experiences predicted by the two neighborhood models as developed from the geographic literature. Residents of the expansion neighborhood improved their housing situation by moving outward within a growing ethnic sector. Residents of the assimilation neighborhood have moved first to the fringes and then outside of the ethnic sector. These results reinforce the appropriate research framework constructed from the geographic neighborhood models. This research has extended past geographic studies by applying both models simultaneously to the same ethnic group and by measuring spatial patterns and levels of assimilation as part of the same research design.

To what degree does this research elaborate on the four functions of ethnic neighborhoods developed by Boal? For many Cuban Americans

in Dade County, ethnic neighborhoods certainly do provide two of these functions, avoidance and cultural reinforcement. The former function, avoidance, allows residents of the expansion neighborhood, Palm Springs, to avoid both the use of English as well as encounters with non-Hispanic persons. The latter function, reinforcement, provides for both the continuance of the Spanish language and of living patterns connected to the varied ethnic goods and services offered around Palm Springs. Little of this can be accomplished in and around Breezeswept. Only the effort put into constant commuting can provide some of the functions constantly available to Palm Springs residents.

The expansion neighborhood may offer also some effective defense. Residents of Palm Springs did state that they knew of fewer inter-ethnic problems and had experienced fewer incidences of personal discrimination. Breezeswept residents never articulated a perception of ethnic residential areas as a locale for security; however, a sizeable minority were supportive of such neighborhoods because of their general ethnic solidarity. On the other hand, Breezeswept residents clearly stated that the ethnic neighborhoods in the greater urbanized area with which they were familiar were sites for intra-ethnic conflict and general crime, a potentially more threatening fear than that of discrimination. Breezeswept residents feel that a better way to avoid ethnically based conflict is to advance their own personal socioeconomic status and to direct their primary interaction toward persons of the same status and preferably same ethnic group.

This research does not support the attack function; that is, voting, as determined by the limited data gathered from the interviews. This is in spite of a political campaign with strong appeals to ethnicity that took place in Hialeah during the course of the investigation. While this fourth function of ethnic neighborhoods simply may be less important in the Hispanic community of Dade County, there are other possible explanations. The size of the Hispanic population of Palm Springs probably is not reflected in the voter registration patterns there. Some older Cuban Americans and also new arrivals are not yet citizens. Many residents are too young to vote, and slightly older young adults often have records of poor political participation. Political conversations are directed to international and national level politics rather than local issues. Because there have been no neighborhood-based problems in Palm Springs, the practical necessity of uniting for political action has not arisen. Above all, Cuban American respondents cherish the idea of individual freedom and reject ideas of even subtle pressure to move in only one direction. Cuban Americans only recently have become very active in the broader politics of South Florida, so this function may yet develop. Overall, Boal's functions of ethnic neighborhoods do help to understand the character of Palm Springs as well as some of the voids Breezeswept residents may feel in their neighborhood.

Future Elaboration of the Research Topic

Whenever a complicated situation involving fellow human beings is investigated, a researcher must anticipate the fact that as many

new questions will arise as old questions are answered. Only discipline stops one from pursuing fascinating side issues and unique personal histories when carrying out interviews of the type employed here. While literally dozens of new lines of research could be developed from these findings, it is felt that the most academically fruitful extension of this work would be to broaden the data base and to follow individual neighborhoods over time. Dividing the residential areas of Cuban Americans into a dichotomy of assimilation or expansion neighborhoods is conceptually useful. However, it would be valuable to study more neighborhoods to see how realistic a twofold division is and to determine what other variances may exist. Certainly the inclusion of areas with different socioeconomic status should offer additional insight into the functions of ethnic neighborhoods. One might also wish to include non-Cuban Hispanic neighborhoods.

A far more detailed examination of the activity patterns of Cuban American households could give a clearer picture of the functioning of the seven stage assimilation model. How often do Latinos residing in Hispanic sectors leave these sectors to make use of non-ethnically linked outlets for goods and services? What are the patterns of journeys to socialize with friends and associates? Are families actually taking on the responsibilities of teaching children acceptable Spanish or are they pressuring local schools and churches to do so?

Development of the diachronic dimension must be kept as a distant goal evolving from this research. The prediction that all of Dade County will become Hispanicized and that journeys across town will result from individual preference for individual establishments rather

than the local lack of specific Latin products or services can be tested by charting the changes in Breezeswept. The northeast region of greater Miami should be among the last to feel the Hispanic impact, but as its older population retires and sells their single family homes, who will buy them? Will continued Anglo flight to Broward and Palm Beach Counties deplete potential non-Hispanic purchasers and hasten Hispanic penetration?

As for Palm Springs, now a leading edge of the Hispanic sector, probably it will be enveloped by the continuing expansion of the sector northward. Planners and real estate agents alike think this will drive out most of the remaining non-Hispanics residing there now. If this occurs, and if Cuban Americans continue to improve their economic status, some of the Palm Springs residents may choose to relocate along the expanding northern edges thus fueling this expansionary force. Perhaps the current residents will remain as did some of the early Cuban American respondents who have been in their present homes over twenty years. Also of interest will be the selection of residential sites and search behaviors during the next ten to fifteen years of the teenage children of Palm Springs residents as they form their own new nuclear families and purchase homes.

The extension of this research as suggested above plus many more comparative studies done among other ethnic groups will be required to determine the ultimate reliability of the conceptual functions of ethnic neighborhoods and of the two models describing residential patterns of ethnic people in the literature. Until such new studies are forthcoming, it is the conclusion of this research that the

two models provided in the geographic literature will be useful in further research aimed at understanding the urban spatial relationships of Cuban Americans in South Florida. However, given the unanticipated findings of this study, these two models should be tested in other areas of the country and with other ethnic groups to extend the conceptual foundations of urban ethnic geography.

APPENDIX A
DETERMINING THE NUMBER OF CUBAN AMERICAN
HOUSEHOLDS BY NEIGHBORHOOD

.

I. Breezeswept:

- A. number of single detached homes determined from aerial photographs = 2967
- B. updated vacancy rate (for the neighborhood portion of tract 3.04) = .4%
- C. updated estimate on proportion of the neighborhood that is Cuban American = 10%

Occupied homes = $a(1.0 - b) = 2955.132$

Homes occupied by Cuban Americans = $a(1.0 - b)c = 296$

Breezeswept study population = 296

II. Palm Springs:

- A. number of single detached homes determined from aerial photographs = 3022
- B. updated vacancy rate (for neighborhood portion of tracts 92 and 93.03) = 1.5%
- C. updated estimate on proportion of the neighborhood that is Cuban American = 60%

Occupied homes = $a(1.0 - b) = 2976.67$

Homes occupied by Cuban Americans = $a(1.0 - b)c = 1786$

Palm Springs study population = 1786

APPENDIX B
DETERMINING THE SAMPLE SIZE FOR ADMINISTERING
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The formula:

$$n = \frac{N\sigma^2}{(N - 1)D + \sigma^2}$$

(Scheaffer, Mendenhall,
and Ott 1979)

where n = sample size

N = population size

$$\sigma^2 = \text{variance} = (\frac{1}{4} R)^2 = 625$$

$$R = \text{range} = 0-100\% = 100$$

$$D = \frac{B^2}{4} = 6.25$$

$$B = \text{acceptable error} = 5\%$$

I. Breezeswept

$$N = 296 \quad n = \frac{265 \times 625}{(296 - 1)6.25 + 625} = 74.93$$

II. Palm Springs

$$N = 1786 \quad n = \frac{1786 \times 625}{(1786 - 1)6.25 + 625} = 94.75$$

Final sample sizes: Breezeswept = 75

Palm Springs = 95

APPENDIX C
LETTER TO PROSPECTIVE INTERVIEWEES

1 de julio, 1981

Estimado Señor o Señora:

Soy profesora de geografía ahora trabajando en asociación con la Universidad de Florida en Gainesville, y estoy comenzando una encuesta sobre algunos barrios en Dade County donde residen familias latinas. Ya he visitado los barrios incluyendo el barrio suyo, y he hablado con oficiales que hacen los planes urbanos por su barrio, con oficiales del sistema de escuelas de Dade County, y con agentes que venden casas en su barrio. Ahora necesito información de las familias latinas que viven en su barrio.

Completaré varias entrevistas en su barrio hablando con cualquier adulto que es miembro de la familia y que vive en esta dirección. Cada entrevista durará entre 45 y 60 minutos. Llamaré por teléfono para arreglar la hora de la entrevista como usted quiere (a su conveniencia). Espero que usted o algún miembro de la familia sera listo a ayudarme en esta tarea.

Si tiene algunas preocupaciones sobre la encuesta, los nombres que están abajo son de personas que me conocen y que conocen a mis investigaciones; si quiere, los llame por teléfono.

Dr. Juan Clark, Miami-Dade Community College 596-1274
Dr. Jose Luis Mesa, Transportation Administration, 579-5666
Mrs. Adrienne Katz, Miami-Dade Community College, 596-1398
Miss Pat Kixmiller, Miami-Dade Community College, 685-4551
Mr. Manny Armado, Dade County Planning, 579-2827
Dr. Thomas Boswell, University of Miami, 284-4087
Mr. Chris Frey, Hialeah Planning Department, 883-8085
Mr. Jose Casanova, City of Miami Planning Department, 579-6086

Yo estoy muy agradecida por toda su ayuda.

Nancy Erwin

APPENDIX D
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH

Encuesta sobre los Barrios donde Residen Familias Latinas

1. Dirección de la familia.
2. Nombre y apellido de la persona respondiendo a la encuesta.
3. ¿Es usted cabeza de familia?
4. (Si dice no), ¿Qué relación tiene usted con el cabeza de familia?
5. (Si es diferente de #3), Nombre y apellido del cabeza.
6. Edad del cabeza de familia.
7. Descripción breve del trabajo del cabeza de familia.
8. ¿Cuántos años de educación completó el cabeza de familia?
9. ¿En qué fecha llegó el cabeza de familia a los EEUU?
10. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva de formada esta familia?
11. ¿Quiénes son los otros miembros de la familia?
nombre: sexo: edad: relacion al cabeza de familia:
12. ¿En qué fecha se mudó la familia a la presente casa?
13. ¿Alquila o es dueño de la casa?
14. ¿Cómo supó de esta casa?
15. ¿Por qué seleccionó esta casa?
16. ¿Al buscar casa, estaba buscando en cualquier parte de la ciudad o en algunas zonas específicas?
17. (Si responde, "específicas"), Nombre de zona(s): y ¿por qué esta zona?
18. ¿Al buscar casa, estaba evitando a propósito algunas zonas específicas? nombre de zona(s): y ¿por qué esta zona?
19. ¿Dónde vivía la familia antes de mudarse aquí?
20. ¿Cuánto tiempo vivió allá?
21. ¿Por qué se mudó de esa casa?
22. ¿Cuántas otras lugares ha vivido la familia en los EEUU a fuera de Dade County? y ¿Cuántas en Dade County?
23. Nombre todas las direcciones pasadas de la residencias comenzando con la mas reciente y entonces precendiendo a la primera en los EEUU.
24. ¿Par qué nombre se conoce este barrio donde vive usted ahora?
25. Déme una descripción breve de su barrio.
26. ¿Le gusta su barrio? ¿Por que?
27. ¿Ha estado alguna vez en la ciudad se llama Miami Norte/la vecindad de Hialeah llamada Palm Sprints? (Si responde afirmativamente), Compara esa lugar con su vecindad.
28. ¿Compra alimentos latinos que no son una parte normal de las comidas de norteamericanos? ¿Con qué frecuencia?
¿Dónde va para comprarlos? (nombre y dirección)
29. ¿Va alguna mujer de la familia a un salón de belleza? Nombre y dirección del salón. ¿Ese salón de belleza lo usan principalmente las latinas?
30. ¿Comen algunas miembros de la familia en restarantes latinos?
¿Con qué frecuencia? Nombres y direcciones de los dos restaurantes favoritos con comida latina.
31. ¿Van algunos miembros de la familia a los cines con películas en español? (Si responde afirmativamente), ¿Con qué frecuencia?
Nombre y dirección del cine.

32. ¿Asisten a alguna iglesia los miembros de la familia? Nombre y dirección de la iglesia. ¿Es la presentación religiosa en español? ¿Piensa que es importante que el padre (ministro) pueda hablar español? ¿Por qué?
33. ¿Tienen ustedes un médico para la familia? (o para algun miembro) Nombre y dirección del médico. ¿Habla el médico español?

Finalmente, información sobre aspectos relacionado con el hecho que usted es latino viviendo en los EEUU.

34. ¿Habla usted inglés? ¿Con qué facilidad?
35. Cuando está en un lugar público (como un banco o oficina de gobierno), ¿Prefiere usted hablar inglés o español con los empleados si ellos hablan ambos idiomas?
36. Piensa en los lugares públicos que usted visita con gran frecuencia (como la tienda donde compra alimentos cada semana), ¿Qué idioma habla usted con los empleados la mayor parte de las veces?
37. ¿Tiene en muchos de los lugares públicos cerca de su barrio empleados que hablan español?
38. ¿Piensa usted que Dade County debe ser una área oficialmente bilingüe? ¿Por qué?
39. ¿Piensa usted que tiendas con dueños latinos deben emplear gente que pueden hablar buen inglés? ¿Por qué?
40. ¿Conoce usted barrios donde existen problemas entre latinos y norteamericanos? (Si responde afirmativamente), ¿Qué piensa usted es la causa de esos problemas?
41. ¿Ocurren algunos de esos problemas donde usted vive? (Si responde afirmativamente), Dígame un poco sobre lo que ocurrió. (Si responde "no"), ¿Por qué no tiene ustedes ese tipo de problemas aquí?
42. ¿Se siente usted discriminado en alguna forma por ser latino? (Si responde afirmativamente), Dígame un poco sobre lo que ocurrió.
43. ¿Piensa usted que es importante para la gente de una misma cultura latina vivir juntas (en los mismos barrios)? ¿Por qué?
44. Piense en los muchachos de su familia (o de la familia de sus amigos), ¿Cree usted es importante que los jóvenes latinos puedan hablar buen español? ¿Por qué?
45. ¿Cree usted es importante que los jóvenes latinos aprenden la historia de Cuba? ¿Por qué?
46. ¿Le importa a usted que los jóvenes latinos inviten a fiestas ("date") regularmente jóvenes norteamericanos? ¿Por qué?
47. ¿Piensa usted que los latinos (que pueden votar) deben de votar en bloque (como un grupo) en la política local? (Si responde afirmativamente), ¿Piensa usted que la formación de barrios latinos ayudaría a conseguir participación en bloque en la política local?

Questionnaire about the Neighborhoods where Latin Families Live

1. Address of the family.
2. Name of the person responding to the questionnaire.
3. Are you the head of the family?
4. (If not), What relation are you to the head of the family?
5. (If different from #3), Name of the head of the family.
6. Age of the head of the family.
7. Brief description of the employment of the head of the family.
8. How many years of education did the head of the family complete?
9. When did the head of the family arrive in the U.S.?
10. For how long has this family been a unit?
11. Who are the other members of the family? name: sex:
age: relation to the head of the family:
12. When did the family move to their present home?
13. Do you rent or are you the owner of the residence?
14. How did you learn about this house?
15. Why did you select this house?
16. While looking for a house, were you looking in any part of the urban area or were you looking in specific zones?
17. (If specific), Name of zone(s): and why this zone?
18. While looking for a house, were you avoiding some specific zones?
name of zone(s): and why this zone?
19. Where was your family living before moving here?
20. How long did you live there?
21. Why did you move away from that residence?
22. How many other places outside of Dade in the U.S. has your family lived? and how many within Dade County?
23. List all of your past residential addresses beginning with the most recent and then proceeding to your first address in the U.S.
24. What is the name of your present neighborhood?
25. Give me a brief description of you neighborhood.
26. Do you like your neighborhood? Why?
27. Have you ever been in the city of North Miami/the Hialeah neighborhood called Palm Springs? (If yes), compare that place with your neighborhood.
28. Do you purchase Latin foods that are not part of a regular North American diet? How often? Where do you buy them?
(Name and address)
29. Do any of the women in the family patronize a beauty salon?
(Name and address) Is that beauty salon principally used by Latin women?
30. Do any members of the family eat in Latin restaurants? How often? (Names and addresses of the two favorite Latin restaurants)
31. Do any members of the family attend Spanish language movies? (If yes), How often? (Name and address of theater)
32. Do any members of the family attend church? Name and address.
Service in Spanish? Do you think it is important that the priest (minister) is able to speak Spanish? Why?

33. Do you have a family doctor? (or for some member of the family?)
(Name and address of the doctor) Does the doctor speak Spanish?

Finally, information related to the fact that you are a Latin living in the U.S.

34. Do you speak English? How well?
35. When you are in a public place (such as a bank or government office), do you prefer to speak English or Spanish with those employees who speak both languages?
36. Think about those public places you visit frequently (such as the grocery store), what language do you speak with the employees most of the time?
37. Do many of the public places near your neighborhood have Spanish speaking employees?
38. Do you think that Dade County ought to be an officially bilingual area? Why?
39. Do you think that Latin owners of stores ought to employ people who can speak good English? Why?
40. Do you know of neighborhoods where there are problems between Latins and North Americans? (If yes), What do you think is the cause of those problems?
41. Do any of those problems occur where you live? (If yes), Tell me something about what happened. (If no), Why don't you have that type of problem here?
42. Do you feel discriminated against in any way because you are Latin? (If yes), Tell me something about what happened.
43. Do you think it is important that people of the same Latin culture live together (in the same neighborhoods)? Why?
44. Think about the young people in your family (or in the family of friends), do you believe it is important that young Latins ought to be able to speak good Spanish? Why?
45. Do you believe that it is important that young Latins (Cuban Americans) learn the history of Cuba? Why?
46. Does it matter to you if young Latins regularly date young North Americans? Why?
47. Do you think that Latins (who are able to vote) ought to block vote in local politics? (If yes), Do you think that the creation of Latin neighborhoods would help to develop block voting in local politics?

APPENDIX E
CLASSIFICATION OF THE CROSSTABULATION DATA

First classification creating fifty-nine independent variables.

1. age of head of household: a. under 35, b. 35-44, c. 45-54, d. 55-64, e. 65 and over.
2. occupation of head of household: a. professional, b. white collar, c. blue collar, d. service, e. unemployed, f. retired.
3. education of head of household: a. less than a high school diploma, b. completed high school, c. some college, d. college degree, e. post college work.
4. year head arrived in U.S.: a. before 1960, b. 1960-64, c. 1965-69, d. 1970-74, e. 1975-79, f. 1980 and after.
5. years as a family: a. less than 5, b. 5-9, c. 10-14, d. 15-19, e. 20 or more.
6. size of household: a. 1, b. 2, c. 3, d. 4, e. 5, f. more than 5.
7. years in present house: a. more than 15, b. 10-15, c. 5-9, d. 1-4, e. less than 1.
8. how learned about present house: a. realtor, b. newspaper, c. friend-associate, d. relative, e. driving around.
9. primary reason for selecting house: a. characteristics of the house, b. price, c. characteristics of the neighborhood, d. friends/relatives nearby, e. schools, f. work nearby.
10. secondary reason for selecting house: same categories as 9.
11. primary reason specific search zones: a. does not apply, b. tranquility, c. families, d. near work, e. near friends/relatives, f. away from city center, g. away from one or more ethnic groups.
12. secondary reason for selecting house: same categories as 11.
13. primary reason avoiding zones during search: a. does not apply, b. crime, c. poor neighborhood quality, d. Black areas, e. Hispanic areas, f. near city center, g. too far from work.
14. secondary reason avoiding zones during search: same categories as 13.
15. location of previous neighborhood: a. outside of the U.S., b. outside of Dade County, c. in Hialeah, d. other Hispanic area if Dade, e. in northeast Dade, f. other non-Hispanic areas of Dade.

16. years at last address in the U.S.: a. does not apply, b. less than one, c. 1-3, d. 4-5, e. more than 5.
17. why moved from last residence: a. to buy a home, b. to get a bigger home, c. because of job change, d. old neighborhood changed, e. Blacks moving in, f. other.
18. have lived outside of Dade in the U.S.: a. no, b. yes.
19. past addresses in Dade: a. this address only, b. Hispanic areas only, c. non-Hispanic areas only, d. both.
20. number of moves within Dade: a. 0-2, b. 3-5.
21. neighborhood name: a. correct, b. other, c. none.
22. reason like present neighborhood: a. tranquility, b. neighbors, c. a neighborhood characteristic, d. other.
23. opinion of the other neighborhood: a. positive comment, b. negative comment, c. non-judgemental comment, d. none.
24. buy Latin groceries: a. frequently, b. infrequently, c. never.
25. location of grocery/market: a. neighborhood, b. within two miles of the neighborhood boundaries, c. does not apply.
26. type/location of beauty salon: a. Hispanic/near neighborhood, b. Hispanic/at greater distance, c. Anglo/near neighborhood, d. Anglo/at greater distance, e. does not apply.
27. patronize Latin restaurants: a. frequently, b. infrequently, c. no.
28. location of Latin restaurants: a. neighborhood, b. within two miles, c. farther away, d. does not apply.
29. Spanish language movies: a. watch, b. don't watch.
30. language of church service: a. Spanish, b. English, c. does not apply.
31. location of church: a. neighborhood, b. within two miles, c. farther away, d. does not apply.
32. why a Spanish speaking priest (minister) is important: a. poor English, b. more feeling, c. reinforces culture, d. isn't, e. does not apply.
33. language of the doctor: a. Spanish, b. English.

34. location of the doctor: a. neighborhood, b. within two miles, c. farther away.
35. capability in English: a. excellent, b. fair, c. poor.
36. preferred language: a. Spanish, b. English, c. no preference.
37. language actually spoken: a. Spanish, b. English, c. both.
38. language of neighborhood employees: a. Spanish, b. English.
39. Dade bilingual: a. yes, b. no.
40. why bilingual: a. so many speak Spanish, b. English only unfair, c. business reasons, d. other.
41. should employees speak English: a. yes, b. no.
42. why employees should speak English: a. fair to English speakers, b. is language of the U.S., c. sells more, d. hurts Hispanics wanting jobs, e. other.
43. know of inter-ethnic problem areas: a. yes, b. no.
44. cause of inter-ethnic problems: a. cultural differences, b. ignorance, c. discrimination, d. envy of Latin success, e. does not apply.
45. problems in your neighborhood: a. yes, b. no.
46. why problems: a. does not apply.
47. why no problems: a. too few Latins, b. don't mix with neighbors, c. neighborhoods are good people, d. good luck, e. long years together, f. most are Latins, g. other.
48. have experienced personal discrimination: a. yes, b. no.
49. should ethnics live together: a. yes, b. no.
50. why should/shouldn't ethnics live together? a. mix/learn each other, b. socioeconomic status more important, c. able to live where want, d. reinforce culture, e. ethnic unity, f. intra-group mutual aid, g. avoid problems, h. other.
51. children should learn good Spanish: a. yes, b. no, c. don't care.
52. why learn good Spanish: a. cultural reinforcement, b. get a job, c. second language is part of a good education, d. can communicate better, e. shouldn't, e. does not apply.

- 53. should children learn Cuban history: a. yes, b. no, c. don't care.
- 54. why learn history: a. cultural roots, b. part of family history, c. part of a good education, e. no, the past is past, f. no, is used to manipulate attitudes, g. does not apply.
- 55. how should the children learn: a. school, b. family, c. reading on their own, d. other, e. does not apply.
- 56. concerned by inter-ethnic dating: a. yes, b. no, c. no opinion.
- 57. why concerned: a. not, it's a learning experience, b. not, all are equal, c. not, socioeconomic status more important, d. not, free to do as please, e. yes, avoid problems, f. yes, culture loss, g. other, h. does not apply.
- 58. favor block voting: a. yes, b. no, c. no opinion.
- 59. do ethnic neighborhoods promote block voting: a. yes, b. no, c. does not apply.

Edited classification of independent variables with combined categories.

1. unchanged
2. occupation: a. professional, b. white collar, c. blue collar and service, d. retired and unemployed.
3. education: a. less than high school, b. high school, c. some college, d. college degree or more.
4. arrived in U.S.: a. before 1965, b. 1965-74, c. 1975 or later.
5. unchanged.
6. unchanged.
7. years in present house: a. more than 15, b. 10-15, c. 5-9, d. less than 5.
8. unchanged.
9. primary reason for selecting house: a. characteristics of the house, b. price, c. characteristics of the neighborhood, d. near friends/relatives, e. other.
10. secondary reason: same categories as 9.
11. primary reason specific search zones: a. does not apply, b. tranquility, c. facilities, d. near work, e. other.
12. secondary reason: same categories as 11.
13. primary reason avoiding zones during search: a. does not apply, b. crime, c. poor neighborhood quality, d. too Black or Hispanic, e. other.
14. secondary reasons: same categories as 13.
15. unchanged.
16. years at last address in U.S.: a. 3 or less, b. 4-5, c. 5 or more.
17. unchanged.
18. unchanged.
19. unchanged.
20. unchanged.

21. unchanged.
22. reason like present neighborhood: a. tranquility, b. neighbors, c. other.
23. unchanged.
24. buy Latin groceries: a. frequently, b. infrequently or never.
25. location of grocery/market: a. in neighborhood, b. outside of it.
26. unchanged.
27. unchanged.
28. unchanged.
29. unchanged.
30. unchanged.
31. unchanged.
32. why a Spanish speaking priest (minister) is important: a. poor English, b. more feeling/reinforces culture, c. isn't, d. does not apply.
33. unchanged.
34. unchanged.
35. unchanged.
36. unchanged.
37. unchanged.
38. unchanged.
39. unchanged.
40. unchanged.
41. unchanged.
42. why employees should speak English: a. fair to English speakers, b. is language of the U.S., c. sells more, d. reasons why they shouldn't.
43. unchanged.

- 44. cause of inter-ethnic problems: a. cultural differences/ignorance,
b. discrimination/envy, c. does not apply.
- 45. dropped because it is not useful.
- 46. dropped because it is not useful.
- 47. why no problems in your neighborhood: a. too few Latins,
b. don't mix with neighbors, c. neighbors are good people,
d. most are Latins, e. other.
- 48. unchanged.
- 49. unchanged.
- 50. why should/shouldn't live together: a. to mix/learn from each
other, b. socioeconomic status more important, able to live
where want, d. reinforce culture, e. unity/mutual aid,
f. other.
- 51. children should learn good Spanish: a. yes, b. no or don't care.
- 52. why learn good Spanish: a. cultural reinforcement, b. get a
job, c. part of a good education, d. other.
- 53. should children learn Cuban history: a. yes, b. no or don't
care.
- 54. why learn history: a. cultural roots, b. family history,
c. good education, d. other.
- 55. unchanged.
- 56. concerned by inter-ethnic dating. a. yes, b. no or no opinion.
- 57. why concerned: a. not, it's a learning experience, b. not, all
are equal, c. not, socioeconomic status more important,
d. not, free to do as please, e. other.
- 58. favor block voting: a. yes, b. no or no opinion.
- 59. unchanged.

APPENDIX F
RESULTS OF THE CROSSTABULATION ANALYSIS

This appendix is divided into four sections: 1) the two-way analysis of each of the fifty-nine independent variables as defined in Appendix E; 2) the three-way analysis of significant variables controlled for occupation; 3) the three-way analysis of significant variables controlled for education; and 4) the three-way analysis of significant variables controlled for residential history (lived only within Dade County within the U.S.).

The data used for all of the crosstabulation analyses were classified according to the edited classification scheme in Appendix E; that is, variables 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22, 24, 25, 32, 42, 44, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, and 58 had data compressed into fewer response categories. Variables 45 and 46 were dropped because all gave the same responses (no inter-ethnic problems in their own neighborhoods). In the following tables, response categories are designed by a letter (a., b., etc.), as used in Appendix E and also by a key word. For a fuller explanation of the meaning of either the variable or the response categories, consult Appendix E.

There were almost no problems with missing data because of the completeness of responses obtained by the interviews. As a result, the tables provide frequency distribution by percentage only. Absolute numbers of cases was the nature of the data used to compute chi square and significance level.

Two-Way Crosstabulation Analysis

Table 7. Variable 1: Age of Head of Household

Neighborhood	a.-35	b.35-44	c.45-54	d.55-64	e.65+
Breezeswept	28%	37.3%	18.7%	0%	16%
Palm Springs	23.2%	25.3%	26.3%	9.5%	15.8%

chi sq. 10.56 d.f. 4 significance level .0320

Table 8. Variable 2: Occupation of Head of Household

Neighborhood	a.prof.	b.wt.coll.	c.bl. coll.	d.unempl.
Breezeswept	29.3%	41.3%	21.3%	8%
Palm Springs	8.4%	44.2%	44.2%	3.2%

chi sq. 18.75 d.f. 3 significance level .0003

Table 9. Variable 3: Education of head of Household

Neighborhood	a. lessHS	b. HS	c. some coll.	d.coll.
Breezeswept	5.3%	17.3%	36%	41.3%
Palm Springs	14.7%	40%	26.3%	18.9%

chi sq. 19.25 d.f. 3 significance level .0002

Table 10. Variable 4: Year Head Arrived in the U.S.

Neighborhood	a. before 65	b. 65-74	c. 1975+
Breezeswept	84%	16%	0%
Palm Springs	69.5%	21.1%	9.5%

chi sq. 8.84 d.f. 2 significance level .0120

Table 11. Variable 5: Years as a Family

Neighborhood	a. -5	b. 5-9	c. 10-14	d. 15-19	e. 20+
Breezeswept	6.7%	17.3%	36.0%	22.7%	17.3%
Palm Springs	3.2%	11.6%	24.2%	23.2%	37.9%

chi sq. 10.21 d.f. 4 significance level .0370

Table 12. Variable 6: Size of Household

Neighborhood	a. 1	b. 2	c. 3	d. 4	e. 5	f. 5+
Breezeswept	8.0%	9.3%	21.3%	42.7%	10.7%	8.0%
Palm Springs	4.2%	10.5%	25.3%	35.8%	9.5%	14.7%

chi sq. 3.54 d.f. 5 significance level .6166

Table 13. Variable 7: Years in Present House

Neighborhood	a. 15+	b. 10-15	c. 5-9	d. -5
Breezeswept	0.0%	6.7%	32.0%	61.3%
Palm Springs	20.0%	14.7%	27.4%	37.9%

chi sq. 22.52 d.f. 3 significance level .0001

Table 14. Variable 8: How Learned of Present House

Neighborhood	a. realtor	b. news-paper	c. friend	d. relative	e. driving
Breezeswept	42.7%	28.0%	21.3%	8.0%	0.0%
Palm Springs	12.6%	13.7%	16.8%	24.2%	32.6%

chi sq. 50.28 d.f. 4 significance level .0000

Table 15. Variable 9: Primary Reason for Selecting House

Neighborhood	a.house	b.price	c.neigh- borhood	d.rela- tive	e.other
Breezeswept	37.3%	13.3%	41.3%	0.0%	8.0%
Palm Springs	29.5%	16.8%	30.5%	13.7%	9.5%

chi sq. 12.88 d.f. 4 significance level .0119

Table 16. Variable 10: Secondary Reason for Selecting House

Neighborhood	a.house	b.price	c.neigh- borhood	d.rela- tive	e.other
Breezeswept	24.0%	21.3%	34.7%	4.0%	16.0%
Palm Springs	11.6%	22.1%	33.7%	6.3%	26.3%

chi sq. 6.29 d.f. 4 significance level .1787

Table 17. Variable 11: Primary Reason Specific Search Zones

Neighborhood	a.not apply	b.tran- quil	c.facil- ities	d.work	e.other
Breezeswept	2.7%	62.7%	17.3%	6.7%	10.7%
Palm Springs	11.6%	40.0%	28.4%	7.4%	12.6%

chi sq. 11.02 d.f. 4 significance level .0264

Table 18. Variable 12: Secondary Reason Specific Search Zones

Neighborhood	a.not apply	b.tran- quil	c.facil- ities	d.work	e.other
Breezeswept	2.7%	18.7%	24.0%	13.3%	41.3%
Palm Springs	11.6%	18.9%	27.4%	3.2%	39.0%

chi sq. 11.56 d.f. 4 significance level .0413

Table 19. Variable 13: Primary Reason Avoiding Zones

Neighborhood	a. not apply	b. crime	c. neigh- borhood	d. Black	e. other
Breezeswept	29.3%	12.0%	29.3%	25.3%	4.0%
Palm Springs	63.2%	11.6%	16.8%	4.2%	4.2%

chi sq. 26.70 d.f. 4 significance level .0000

Table 20. Variable 14: Secondary Reason Avoiding Zones

Neighborhood	a. not apply	b. crime	c. neigh- borhood	d. Black	e. other
Breezeswept	29.3%	21.3%	16.0%	16.0%	17.3%
Palm Springs	62.1%	9.5%	12.6%	5.3%	10.5%

chi sq. 20.06 d.f. 4 significance level .0005

Table 21. Variable 15: Location of Previous Neighborhood

Neighborhood	a. out of US	b. out Dade	c. Hia- leah	d. His- panic	e. NE	f. non- Hispan.
Breezeswept	0.0%	25.3%	1.3%	18.7%	33.3%	21.3%
Palm Springs	8.4%	11.6%	32.6%	1.1%	40.0%	6.3%

chi sq. d.f. significance level

Table 22. Variable 16: Years at Last Address

Neighborhood	a. 0-3 years	b. 4-5 years	c. 5+ years
Breezeswept	45.3%	26.7%	28.0%
Palm Springs	58.9%	26.3%	14.7%

chi sq. 5.05 d.f. 2 significance level .0800

Table 23. Variable 17: Why Moved from Last Residence

Neighborhood	a.buy	b.big- ger	c.job	d.neigh- borhood	e.black	f.other
Breezeswept	9.3%	24.0%	18.7%	16.0%	20.0%	12.0%
Palm Springs	30.5%	6.3%	14.7%	15.8%	10.5%	22.1%

chi sq. 23.55 d.f. 5 significance level .0003

Table 24. Variable 18: Lived Outside Dade in U.S.

Neighborhood	a. only in Dade	b. outside Dade
Breezeswept	34.7%	65.3%
Palm Springs	77.9%	22.1%

chi sq. 30.57 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 25. Variable 19: Past Addresses in Dade

Neighborhood	a. this address	b. His- panic	c. non-His- panic	d. both
Breezeswept	18.7%	0.0%	12.0%	69.3%
Palm Springs	16.8%	75.8%	0.0%	7.4%

chi sq. 114.69 d.f. 3 significance level .0000

Table 26. Variable 20: Number of Moves in Dade

Neighborhood	a. 0-2 years	b. 3-5 years
Breezeswept	70.7%	29.3%
Palm Springs	83.2%	16.8%

chi sq. 3.08 d.f. 1 significance level .0791

Table 27. Variable 21: Neighborhood Name

Neighborhood	a. correct	b. other	c. none
Breezeswept	52.0%	32.0%	16.0%
Palm Springs	58.9%	40.0%	1.1%

chi sq. 13.34 d.f. 2 significance level .0013

Table 28. Variable 22: Why Like Neighborhood

Neighborhood	a. tranquility	b. neighbors	c. other
Breezeswept	82.7%	2.7%	14.7%
Palm Springs	75.8%	14.7%	9.5%

chi sq. 7.70 d.f. 2 significance level .0213

Table 29. Variable 23: Opinion of Other Neighborhood

Neighborhood	a. positive	b. negative	c. neutral	d. other
Breezeswept	4.0%	22.7%	10.7%	62.7%
Palm Springs	14.7%	15.8%	32.6%	36.8%

chi sq. 20.49 d.f. 3 significance level .0001

Table 30. Variable 24: Buying Latin Groceries

Neighborhood	a. frequently	b. infrequently/never
Breezeswept	80.0%	20.0%
Palm Springs	82.1%	17.9%

chi sq. 5.10 d.f. 2 significance level .0612

Table 31. Variable 25: Location of Market

Neighborhood	a. in neighborhood	b. farther away
Breezeswept	69.3%	30.7%
Palm Springs	86.3%	13.7%

chi sq. 6.26 d.f. 1 significance level .0124

Table 32. Variable 26: Type/Location of Beauty Salon

Neighborhood	a. Hispan. neigh.	b. Hispan. away	c. Anglo neigh.	d. Anglo away	e. not apply
Breezeswept	0.0%	38.7%	12.0%	21.3%	28.0%
Palm Springs	37.9%	9.5%	5.3%	4.2%	43.2%

chi sq. 59.80 d.f. 4 significance level .0000

Table 33. Variable 27: Patronize Latin Restaurants

Neighborhood	a. frequently	b. infrequently	c. never
Breezeswept	80.0%	8.0%	12.0%
Palm Springs	89.5%	7.4%	3.2%

chi sq. 5.10 d.f. 2 significance level .0612

Table 34. Variable 28: Location of Latin Restaurants

Neighborhood	a. neighborhood	b. 2 miles	c. farther	d. not apply
Breezeswept	1.3%	9.3%	77.3%	12.0%
Palm Springs	52.6%	23.2%	21.1%	3.2%

chi sq. 75.04 d.f. 3 significance level .0000

Table 35. Variable 29: Spanish Language Movies

Neighborhood	a. watch	b. do not watch
Breezeswept	0.0%	100.0%
Palm Springs	23.2%	76.8%

chi sq. 17.95 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 36. Variable 30: Language of Church Service

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. not apply
Breezeswept	60.0%	22.7%	17.3%
Palm Springs	67.4%	23.2%	9.5%

chi sq. 2.36 d.f. 2 significance level .3075

Table 37. Variable 31: Location of Church

Neighborhood	a. neigh- borhood	b. 2 miles	c. farther	d. not apply
Breezeswept	38.7%	40.0%	5.3%	16.0%
Palm Springs	57.9%	18.9%	13.7%	9.5%

chi sq. 14.08 d.f. 3 significance level .0028

Table 38. Variable 32: Why a Spanish Speaking Priest Is Important

Neighborhood	a. poor English	b. culture	c. isn't	d. not apply
Breezeswept	34.7%	29.3%	20.0%	16.0%
Palm Springs	48.4%	17.9%	24.2%	9.5%

chi sq. 6.04 d.f. 3 significance level .1097

Table 39. Variable 33: Language of Octor

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English
Breezeswept	92.0%	8.0%
Palm Springs	87.4%	12.6%

chi sq. .52 d.f. 1 significance level .4694

Table 40. Variable 34: Location of Octor

Neighborhood	a. neighborhood	b. 2 miles	c. farther
Breezeswept	1.3%	25.3%	73.3%
Palm Springs	9.5%	50.5%	40.0%

chi sq. 19.98 d.f. 2 significance level .0000

Table 41. Variable 35: Capability in English

Neighborhood	a. excellent	b. fair	c. poor
Breezeswept	56.0%	44.0%	0.0%
Palm Springs	55.8%	33.7%	10.5%

chi sq. 9.06 d.f. 2 significance level .0108

Table 42. Variable 36: Preferred Language

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. no preference
Breezeswept	56.0%	29.3%	14.7%
Palm Springs	51.6%	34.7%	13.7%

chi sq. .56 d.f. 2 significance level .7558

Table 43. Variable 37: Language Actually Spoken

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. both
Breezeswept	42.7%	56.0%	1.3%
Palm Springs	38.9%	38.9%	22.1%

chi sq. 39.66 d.f. 2 significance level .0000

Table 44. Variable 38: Language of Neighborhood Employees

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English
Breezeswept	37.3%	62.7%
Palm Springs	100.0%	0.0%

chi sq. 79.18 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 45. Variable 39: Should Dade Be Bilingual

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	93.3%	6.7%
Palm Springs	89.5%	10.5%

chi sq. 37 d.f. 1 significance level .5428

Table 46. Variable 40: Why Should Dade Be Bilingual

Neighborhood	a. many	b. un-fair	c. business	d. other
Breezeswept	52.0%	21.3%	18.7%	8.0%
Palm Springs	63.2%	12.6%	8.4%	15.8%

chi sq. 8.28 d.f. 3 significance level .0405

Table 47. Variable 41: Should Employees Speak English

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	92.0%	8.0%
Palm Springs	87.4%	12.6%

chi sq. .52 d.f. 1 significance level .4694

Table 48. Variable 42: Why Should Employees Speak English

Neighborhood	a. fair- ness	b. is U.S. language	c. sells	d. shouldn't
Breezeswept	54.7%	36.0%	1.3%	8.0%
Palm Springs	37.9%	36.8%	13.7%	11.6%

chi sq. 10.91 d.f. 3 significance level .0122

Table 49. Variable 43: Know of Inter-Ethnic Problem Areas

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	41.3%	58.7%
Palm Springs	21.1%	78.9%

chi sq. 7.27 d.f. 1 significance level .0070

Table 50. Variable 44: Cause of Inter-Ethnic Problems

Neighborhood	a. cultural differences	b. discrimina- tion	c. not apply
Breezeswept	22.7%	18.7%	58.7%
Palm Springs	5.3%	15.8%	78.9%

chi sq. 12.48 d.f. 2 significance level .0020

Table 51. Variable 47: Why No Problems in Your Neighborhood

Neighborhood	a. few Latinos	b. don't mix	c. good people	d. most Latinos	e. other
Breezeswept	40.0%	32.0%	26.7%	0.0%	1.3%
Palm Springs	0.0%	4.2%	34.7%	24.2%	36.8%

chi sq. 101.64 d.f. 4 significance level .0000

Table 52. Variable 48: Experienced Personal Discrimination

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	30.7%	69.3%
Palm Springs	12.6%	87.4%

chi sq. 7.27 d.f. 1 significance level .0070

Table 53. Variable 49: Should Ethnic Live Together

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	48.0%	52.0%
Palm Springs	21.1%	78.9%

chi sq. 12.58 d.f. 1 significance level .0004

Table 54. Variable 50: Why Should/Shouldn't Ethnic Live Together

Neighborhood	a. learn	b. sta- tus	c. where want	d. cul- ture	e. aid	f. other
Breezeswept	13.3%	20.0%	17.3%	10.7%	29.3%	9.3%
Palm Springs	20.0%	2.1%	45.3%	11.6%	7.4%	13.7%

chi sq. 37.00 d.f. 5 significance level .0000

Table 55. Variable 51: Children Learn Good Spanish

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no or don't care
Breezeswept	89.3%	10.7%
Palm Springs	97.9%	2.1%

chi sq. 6.95 d.f. 1 significance level .0426

Table 56. Variable 52: Why Learn Good Spanish

Neighborhood	a. cul- ture	b. job	c. educa- tion	d. other
Breezeswept	33.3%	18.7%	33.3%	14.7%
Palm Springs	52.6%	12.6%	21.1%	13.7%

chi sq. 6.95 d.f. 3 significance level .0734

Table 57. Variable 53: Children Learn Cuban History

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no or don't care
Breezeswept	92.0%	8.0%
Palm Springs	93.7%	6.3%

chi sq. .015 d.f. 1 significance level .9012

Table 58. Variable 54: Why Learn Cuban History

Neighborhood	a. roots	b. family	c. educa- tion	d. other
Breezeswept	53.3%	16.0%	22.7%	8.0%
Palm Springs	78.9%	12.6%	2.1%	6.3%

chi sq. 20.42 d.f. 3 significance level .0001

Table 59. Variable 55: How Children Should Learn Cuban History

Neighborhood	a. school	b. family	c. reading	d. other	e. not apply
Breezeswept	44.0%	10.7%	14.7%	22.7%	8.0%
Palm Springs	36.8%	30.5%	13.7%	12.6%	6.3%

chi sq. 10.80 d.f. 4 significance level .0289

Table 60. Variable 56: Concerned by Inter-Ethnic Dating

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no or no opinion
Breezeswept	0.0%	100.0%
Palm Springs	6.3%	93.7%

chi sq. 3.23 d.f. 1 significance level .0723

Table 61. Variable 57: Why Concerned by Inter-Ethnic Dating

Neighborhood	a. learning	b. equal	c. status	d. free	e. other
Breezeswept	37.3%	18.7%	22.7%	16.0%	5.3%
Palm Springs	26.3%	34.7%	2.1%	17.9%	18.9%

chi sq. 27.49 d.f. 4 significance level .0000

Table 62. Variable 58: Favor Block Voting

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no or no opinion
Breezeswept	21.3%	78.7%
Palm Springs	33.7%	66.3%

chi sq. 2.58 d.f. 1 significance level .1086

Table 63. Variable 59: Do Ethnic Neighborhoods Promote Block Voting

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no	c. does not apply
Breezeswept	22.7%	0.0%	77.3%
Palm Springs	66.3%	27.4%	6.3%

chi sq. 5.82 d.f. 2 significance level .0545

Three-Way Analysis Controlled for Occupation

Table 64. Variable 13: Primary Reason Avoiding Zones--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. not apply	b. crime	c. neigh- borhood	d. Black	e. other
Breezeswept	19.4%	19.4%	32.3%	29.0%	0.0%
Palm Springs	54.8%	11.9%	23.8%	9.5%	0.0%

chi sq. 10.56 d.f. 3 significance level .0143

Table 65. Variable 16: Years at Last Address--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. 0-3 years	b. 4-5 years	c. 5+ years
Breezeswept	58.1%	16.1%	25.8%
Palm Springs	64.3%	33.3%	2.4%

chi sq. 10.08 d.f. 2 significance level .0065

Table 66. Variable 18: Lived Outside Dade in U.S.--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. only in Dade	b. outside Dade
Breezeswept	19.4%	80.6%
Palm Springs	76.2%	23.8%

chi sq. 20.86 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 67. Variable 20: Number of Moves Within Dade--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. 0-2	b. 3-5
Breezeswept	90.3%	9.7%
Palm Springs	73.8%	26.2%

chi sq. 2.16 d.f. 1 significance level .1414

Table 68. Variable 24: Buying Latin Groceries--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. frequently	b. infrequently/never
Breezeswept	87.1%	12.9%
Palm Springs	71.4%	28.6%

chi sq. 1.72 d.f. 1 significance level .1891

Table 69. Variable 25: Location of Market--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. neighborhood	b. farther away
Breezeswept	48.4%	51.6%
Palm Springs	90.5%	9.5%

chi sq. 13.84 d.f. 1 significance level .0002

Table 70. Variable 30: Language of Church Service--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. not apply
Breezeswept	51.6%	19.4%	29.0%
Palm Springs	57.1%	23.8%	19.0%

chi sq. 1.02 d.f. 2 significance level .5991

Table 71. Variable 32: Why Spanish Speaking Priest Important--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. poor English	b. culture	c. isn't	d. not apply
Breezeswept	16.1%	35.5%	19.4%	29.0%
Palm Springs	45.2%	14.3%	21.4%	19.0%

chi sq. 9.38 d.f. 3 significance level .0523

Table 72. Variable 36: Preferred Language--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. no preference
Breezeswept	64.5%	25.8%	9.7%
Palm Springs	52.4%	33.3%	14.3%

chi sq. 1.10 d.f. 2 significance level .5772

Table 73. Variable 37: Language Actually Spoken--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. both
Breezeswept	51.6%	48.4%	0.0%
Palm Springs	42.9%	9.5%	47.6%

chi sq. 25.41 d.f. 2 significance level .0000

Table 74. Variable 38: Language of Neighborhood Employees--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English
Breezeswept	41.9%	58.1%
Palm Springs	100.0%	0.0%

chi sq. 29.32 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 75. Variable 43: Know of Inter-Ethnic Problem Areas--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	51.6%	48.4%
Palm Springs	23.8%	76.2%

chi sq. 4.86 d.f. 1 significance level .0275

Table 76. Variable 47: Why No Problems in Your Neighborhood--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. few Latin	b. don't mix	c. good people	d. most Latin	e. other
Breezeswept	32.3%	29.0%	35.5%	0.0%	3.2%
Palm Springs	0.0%	9.5%	33.3%	28.6%	28.6%

chi sq. 32.68 d.f. 4 significance level .0000

Table 77. Variable 48: Experienced Personal Discrimination--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	61.3%	38.7%
Palm Springs	14.3%	85.7%

chi sq. 15.47 d.f. 1 significance level .0001

Table 78. Variable 49: Should Ethnics Live Together--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	58.1%	41.9%
Palm Springs	19.0%	81.0%

chi sq. 10.20 d.f. 1 significance level .0014

Table 79. Variable 57: Why Concerned by Inter-Ethnic Dating--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. learn- ing	b. equal	c. sta- tus	d. free	e. other
Breezeswept	38.7%	19.4%	16.1%	19.4%	6.5%
Palm Springs	14.3%	35.7%	2.4%	19.0%	28.6%

chi sq. 14.63 d.f. 4 significance level .0055

Table 80. Variable 58: Favor Block Voting--
White Collar Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no or no opinion
Breezeswept	22.6%	77.4%
Palm Springs	40.5%	59.4%

chi sq. 1.84 d.f. 1 significance level .1748

Three-Way Analysis Controlled for Education

Table 81. Variable 4: Year Head Arrived in U.S.--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. before 65	b. 65-74	c. 1975+
Breezeswept	81.5%	18.5%	0.0%
Palm Springs	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%

chi sq. 1.97 d.f. 1 significance level .1609

Table 82. Variable 18: Lived Outside Dade in U.S.--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. only in Dade	b. outside Dade
Breezeswept	33.3%	66.7%
Palm Springs	68.0%	32.0%

chi sq. 4.93 d.f. 1 significance level .0264

Table 83. Variable 18: Lived Outside Dade in U.S.--
College Degree Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. only in Dade	b. outside Dade
Breezeswept	22.6%	77.4%
Palm Springs	83.3%	16.7%

chi sq. 14.62 d.f. 1 significance level .0001

Table 84. Variable 20: Number of Moves Within Dade--
College Degree Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. 0-2	b. 3-5
Breezeswept	64.5%	35.5%
Palm Springs	66.7%	33.3%

chi sq. .00 d.f. 1 significance level 1.0000

Table 85. Variable 25: Location of Market--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. neighborhood	b. farther away
Breezeswept	59.3%	40.7%
Palm Springs	84.0%	16.0%

chi sq. 2.76 d.f. 1 significance level .0967

Table 86. Variable 35: Capability in English--
College Degree Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. excellent	b. fair	c. poor
Breezeswept	71.0%	29.0%	0.0%
Palm Springs	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%

chi sq. 2.35 d.f. 1 significance level .1253

Table 87. Variable 36: Preferred Language--College Degree
Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. no preference
Breezeswept	29.0%	41.9%	29.0%
Palm Springs	77.8%	5.6%	16.7%

chi sq. 11.75 d.f. 2 significance level .0028

Table 88. Variable 37: Language Actually Spoken--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. both
Breezeswept	40.7%	59.3%	0.0%
Palm Springs	36.0%	16.0%	48.0%

chi sq. 19.35 d.f. 2 significance level .0001

Table 89. Variable 38: Language of Neighborhood Employees--
College Degree Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English
Breezeswept	35.5%	64.5%
Palm Springs	100.0%	0.0%

chi sq. 17.04 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 90. Variable 38: Language of Neighborhood Employees--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English
Breezeswept	37.0%	63.0%
Palm Springs	100.0%	0.0%

chi sq. 20.61 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

Table 91. Variable 43: Know of Inter-Ethnic Problem Areas--
High School Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	38.5%	61.5%
Palm Springs	15.8%	84.2%

chi sq. 1.76 d.f. 1 significance level .1852

Table 92. Variable 43: Know of Inter-Ethnic Problem Areas--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	33.3%	66.7%
Palm Springs	12.0%	88.0%

chi sq. 2.23 d.f. 1 significance level .1349

Table 93. Variable 44: Cause of Inter-Ethnic Problems--
College Degree Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. cultural differences	b. discrimination	c. not apply
Breezeswept	45.2%	41.9%	12.9%
Palm Springs	38.9%	11.1%	50.0%

chi sq. 9.55 d.f. 2 significance level .0085

Table 94. Variable 48: Experienced Personal Discrimination--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	51.9%	48.1%
Palm Springs	4.0%	96.0%

chi sq. 12.24 d.f. 1 significance level .0005

Table 95. Variable 48: Experienced Personal Discrimination--
College Degree Plus Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	12.9%	87.1%
Palm Springs	55.6%	44.4%

chi sq. 8.17 d.f. 1 significance level .0043

Table 96. Variable 49: Should Ethnic Live Together--
High School Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	76.9%	23.1%
Palm Springs	26.3%	73.7%

chi sq. 8.39 d.f. 1 significance level .0038

Table 97. Variable 49: Should Ethnics Live Together--
Some College Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	51.9%	48.1%
Palm Springs	8.0%	92.0%

chi sq. 9.75 d.f. 1 significance level .0018

Three-Way Analysis Controlled for Past Residence Only in or outside of Dade County

Table 98. Variable 3: Education of Head of Household--
Oade Only

Neighborhood	a. less h.s.	b. high school	c. some college	d. college
Breezeswept	11.5%	26.9%	34.6%	26.9%
Palm Springs	17.8%	38.4%	23.3%	20.5%

chi sq. 2.46 d.f. 3 significance level .4821

Table 99. Variable 3: Year Head Arrived in U.S.--
Oade Only

Neighborhood	a. before 65	b. 65-74	c. 1975+
Breezeswept	80.8%	19.2%	0.0%
Palm Springs	67.1%	20.5%	12.3%

chi sq. 3.73 d.f. 2 significance level .1551

Table 100. Variable 35: Capability in English--
Outside Oade Only

Neighborhood	a. excellent	b. fair	c. poor
Breezeswept	51.0%	49.0%	0.0%
Palm Springs	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%

chi sq. 4.18 d.f. 2 significance level .1240

Table 101. Variable 36: Preferred Language--
Outside Oade Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. no preference
Breezeswept	24.5%	55.1%	20.4%
Palm Springs	19.0%	76.2%	4.8%

chi sq. 16.43 d.f. 2 significance level .0003

Table 102. Variable 37: Language Actually Spoken--
Outside Oade Only

Neighborhood	a. Spanish	b. English	c. both
Breezeswept	51.0%	46.9%	2.0%
Palm Springs	4.8%	28.6%	66.7%

chi sq. 38.32 d.f. 2 significance level .0000

Table 103. Variable 49: Should Ethnics Live Together--
Outside Oade Only

Neighborhood	a. yes	b. no
Breezeswept	59.2%	40.8%
Palm Springs	0.0%	100.0%

chi sq. 18.85 d.f. 1 significance level .0000

APPENDIX G
RESULTS OF THE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

I. Results of the First Run of the Discriminant Analysis

Table 104. First Run Variables After Final Step

Variable	Tolerance	F to Remove
1	.5080003	.56506+001
4	.3860760	.27575+001
6	.4937311	.62421+001
7	.4496855	.31086+002
8	.4467517	.34220+002
10	.7289025	.38686+001
13	.5730613	.39470+001
16	.5258561	.14147+002
17	.6248614	.60491+001
18	.4718678	.48838+002
19	.5738078	.79444+001
23	.6498970	.18370+001
25	.5262890	.18522+001
26	.5936292	.82288+001
27	.2805331	.45118+002
28	.2234250	.12122+003
29	.4266612	.22644+002
30	.4317116	.24600+001
33	.6050055	.18462+001
35	.4454774	.39667+001
36	.5981457	.95200+001
37	.5234990	.16262+002
38	.4188936	.67860+002
39	.5908032	.24460+001
40	.5344223	.13886+002
44	.4216682	.20679+002
47	.6674347	.15609+002
49	.5796770	.18412+002
54	.3939751	.53229+001
56	.4106424	.70134+001
57	.3915399	.84064+001

Canonical Discriminant Function: % of variance=100%;
 canonical correlation= .9746958; Wilk's lambda=.0499681;
 chi square=456.95 at a significance level of .0000

Group Means/ Centroids
 group 1 (Breezeswept)=+4.87847
 group 2 (PLM Springs)=-3.85143

Table 105. First Run Summary Table

Step	Variable Entered	Change in Rao's V	Function Coefficient	Rank
1	47	.1585+003	-.40032	13
2	38	.1270+003	.91012	3
3	19	.9988+002	.31600	17
4	49	.1018+003	-.46234	9
5	8	.1008+003	-.68422	5
6	28	.1125+003	1.48428	1
7	18	.1422+003	.76360	4
8	7	.1658+003	.65600	6
9	16	.1261+003	.43142	11
10	27	.1207+003	-.96150	2
11	29	.1802+003	-.58970	7
12	56	.2299+003	.35210	15
13	35	.1887+003	.25674	23
14	13	.1174+003	.22600	25
15	26	.7701+002	.31588	18
16	36	.7507+002	.33699	16
17	37	.7461+002	-.46040	10
18	40	.9675+002	.42434	12
19	44	.1459+003	-.57036	8
20	17	.1091+003	.26597	22
21	57	.1211+003	-.39289	14
22	54	.6891+002	.31500	19
23	6	.6441+002	.30374	20
24	1	.8028+002	.28549	21
25	39	.6563+002	-.17615	28
26	10	.5666+002	-.19844	27
27	4	.4980+002	-.23111	24
28	30	.3774+002	-.20665	26
29	33	.3147+002	.15155	30
30	25	.2927+002	.16275	29
31	23	.4417+002	.14587	31

All values have a significance level of .0000

II. Results of the Second Run of the Discriminant Analysis

Table 106. Second Run Variables After Final Step

Variable	Tolerance	F to Remove
7	.7181985	.27467+002
8	.7074977	.52168+002
16	.7214945	.22344+002
18	.7999580	.18150+002
27	.4342302	.19869+002
28	.3842408	.86770+002
29	.7348257	.19179+002
37	.7410353	.15775+001
38	.6404077	.60843+002
40	.7866647	.55554+001
44	.7376978	.17955+001
47	.8301959	.38552+002
49	.6585712	.19703+002

Canonical Discriminant Function: % of variance=100%;
 canonical correlation=.9446773; Wilk's lambda=.1075849;
 chi square=360.06 at a significance level of .0000

Group Means/Centroids

group 1 (Breezeswept)= +3.22232
 group 2 (Palm Springs)= -2.54394

Table 107. Second Run Summary Table

Step	Variable Entered	Change in Rao's V	Coefficient	Rank
1	47	.1585+003	-.51717	5
2	38	.2802+003	.70068	2
3	49	.3776+003	-.43681	8
4	8	.5053+003	-.63001	3
5	28	.6396+003	1.02094	1
6	7	.7558+003	.48331	6
7	18	.9179+003	.39305	10
8	16	.1050+004	.44111	7
9	29	.1157+004	-.40860	9
10	27	.1327+004	-.53994	4
11	40	.1365+004	.22132	11
12	44	.1378+004	-.13147	12
13	37	.1394+004	-.12304	13

All values have a significance level of .000

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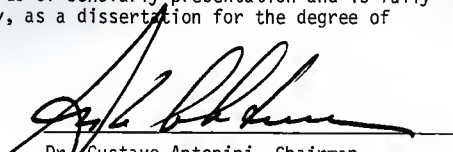
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

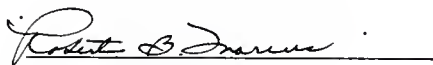
Nancy E. Erwin was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 27, 1941, and attended school in Montgomery County where she graduated valedictorian from Lower Moreland High School in 1959. She was a scholarship student at Syracuse University and graduated in January, 1963, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science summa cum laude. Ms. Erwin entered the University of Florida graduate school as a fellowship student specializing in Latin America areas studies with a major in geography. After field research in Guatemala, she received her degree of Master of Arts in 1966. After teaching at the university level, Ms. Erwin returned to the University of Florida graduate school in 1979 as a teaching assistant majoring in geography and minoring in Latin America area studies. She is married and has one child.

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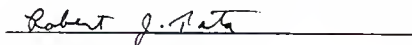
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Professor of Geography

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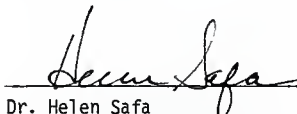
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Geography in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dean for Graduate Studies and
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